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AUTHOR	Morley, Elaine; Rossman, Shelli B.; Kopczynski, Mary; Buck, Janeen; Gouvis, Caterina
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ABSTRACT

This report describes lessons learned over the initial 3 years of the implementation of the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention's SafeFutures Program To Reduce Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Violence, a 5-year demonstration initiative designed to prevent and control juvenile delinquency through a continuum of care in communities. The report is based on information obtained through multiple visits by evaluators to each of the SafeFutures communities during the first 3 years; follow up discussions with selected participants; and analyses of secondary documents. The report presents details on each of the programs, which focused on after school support; mentoring; family support; mental health services; delinquency prevention; gang-free schools and communities; day-treatment programs; continuum-of-care services for at-risk and delinquent girls; and serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offender programs. Lessons learned are grouped according to three categories reflecting three primary audiences: those responsible for creating or managing funded demonstration projects; those involved in community-based collaboratives; and those responsible for providing services to youth at high risk of delinquency, violence, and victimization of their families. (Contains 115 references.) (SM)

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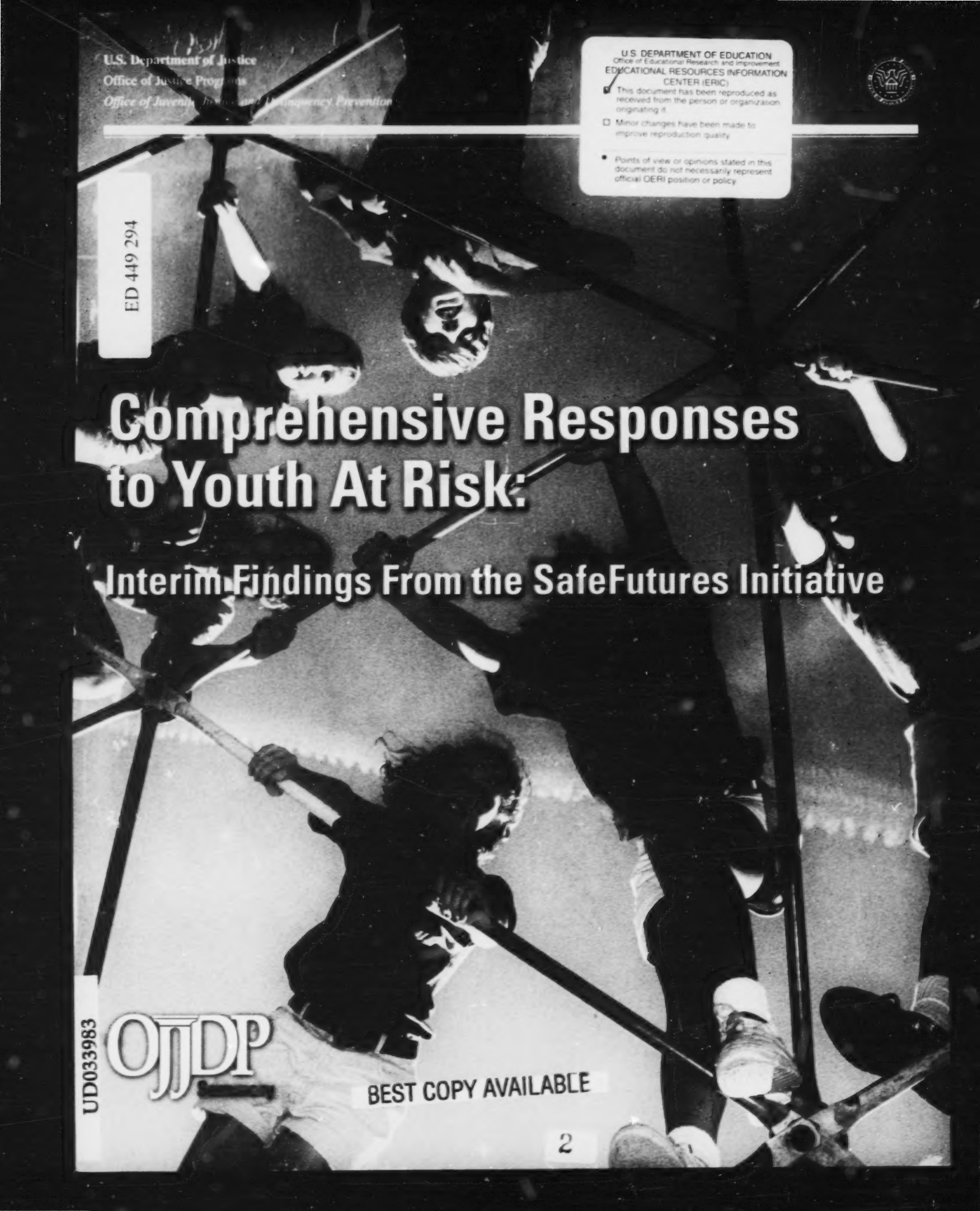
ED 449 294

Comprehensive Responses to Youth At Risk:

Interim Findings From the SafeFutures Initiative



OJJDP

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Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) was established by the President and Congress through the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (JJDP) Act of 1974, Public Law 93–415, as amended. Located within the Office of Justice Programs of the U.S. Department of Justice, OJJDP's goal is to provide national leadership in addressing the issues of juvenile delinquency and improving juvenile justice.

OJJDP sponsors a broad array of research, program, and training initiatives to improve the juvenile justice system as a whole, as well as to benefit individual youth-serving agencies. These initiatives are carried out by seven components within OJJDP, described below.

Research and Program Development Division develops knowledge on national trends in juvenile delinquency; supports a program for data collection and information sharing that incorporates elements of statistical and systems development; identifies how delinquency develops and the best methods for its prevention, intervention, and treatment; and analyzes practices and trends in the juvenile justice system.

Training and Technical Assistance Division provides juvenile justice training and technical assistance to Federal, State, and local governments; law enforcement, judiciary, and corrections personnel; and private agencies, educational institutions, and community organizations.

Special Emphasis Division provides discretionary funds to public and private agencies, organizations, and individuals to replicate tested approaches to delinquency prevention, treatment, and control in such pertinent areas as chronic juvenile offenders, community-based sanctions, and the disproportionate representation of minorities in the juvenile justice system.

State Relations and Assistance Division supports collaborative efforts by States to carry out the mandates of the JJDP Act by providing formula grant funds to States; furnishing technical assistance to States, local governments, and private agencies; and monitoring State compliance with the JJDP Act.

Information Dissemination Unit produces and distributes information resources on juvenile justice research, training, and programs and coordinates the Office's program planning and competitive award activities. Information that meets the needs of juvenile justice professionals and policymakers is provided through print and online publications, videotapes, CD–ROM's, electronic listservs, and the Office's Web site. As part of the program planning and award process, IDU develops priorities, publishes solicitations and application kits for funding opportunities, and facilitates the peer review process for discretionary funding awards.

Concentration of Federal Efforts Program promotes interagency cooperation and coordination among Federal agencies with responsibilities in the area of juvenile justice. The Program primarily carries out this responsibility through the Coordinating Council on Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, an independent body within the executive branch that was established by Congress through the JJDP Act.

Child Protection Division administers programs related to crimes against children and children's exposure to violence. The Division provides leadership and funding to promote effective policies and procedures to address the problems of missing and exploited children, children who have been abused or neglected, and children exposed to domestic or community violence. CPD program activities include conducting research; providing information, training, and technical assistance on programs to prevent and respond to child victims, witnesses, and their families; developing and demonstrating effective child protection initiatives; and supporting the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children.

The mission of OJJDP is to provide national leadership, coordination, and resources to prevent and respond to juvenile offending and child victimization. OJJDP accomplishes its mission by supporting States, local communities, and tribal jurisdictions in their efforts to develop and implement effective, multidisciplinary prevention and intervention programs and improve the capacity of the juvenile justice system to protect public safety, hold offenders accountable, and provide treatment and rehabilitative services tailored to the needs of individual juveniles and their families.

Comprehensive Responses to Youth At Risk: Interim Findings From the SafeFutures Initiative

Summary

Elaine Morley

Shelli B. Rossman

Mary Kopczynski

Janeen Buck

Caterina Gouvis

John J. Wilson, Acting Administrator
Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

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U.S. Department of Justice
Office of Justice Programs
Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention
810 Seventh Street NW.
Washington, DC 20531

Janet Reno
Attorney General

Daniel Marcus
Acting Associate Attorney General

Mary Lou Leary
Acting Assistant Attorney General

John J. Wilson
Acting Administrator
Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

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Foreword

The prevention and control of juvenile delinquency and violence lie at the heart of the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention's (OJJDP's) SafeFutures initiative. The initiative joins what we have learned from research about risk and protective factors with what we now know from experience about promising approaches to preventing and controlling delinquency, resulting in a continuum of care that responds to the needs of youth at critical stages in their development. As such, it embodies the principles of OJJDP's Comprehensive Strategy for Serious, Violent, and Chronic Juvenile Offenders.

This Summary describes the lessons learned over the initial 3 years of the initiative's implementation in pilot sites in Boston, MA; Contra Costa County, CA; Fort Belknap Indian Community, MT; Imperial County, CA; Seattle, WA; and St. Louis, MO. The services that each site provides vary considerably, making the Summary a valuable information resource for professionals working in urban, rural, and tribal settings.

I am proud of the accomplishments of the SafeFutures initiative and hope that the experiences of these sites will help us improve our efforts to prevent and control juvenile delinquency and victimization.

John J. Wilson
Acting Administrator
Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

Acknowledgments

The authors wish to acknowledge the contributions and assistance of the SafeFutures directors and staff associated with SafeFutures initiatives at the six demonstration sites, without whose assistance this Summary would not have been possible. The sites are Boston, MA; Contra Costa County, CA; Fort Belknap Indian Community, MT; Imperial County, CA; Seattle, WA; and St. Louis, MO. We are also indebted to the many other individuals at each site who graciously participated in our interviews and provided information about their communities and their SafeFutures efforts.

We also wish to thank our Urban Institute colleagues E. Blaine Liner, Center Director of the State Policy Center, and Adele Harrell, Director of the Law and Behavior Program, for their advice and support.

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Executive Summary

The SafeFutures Program To Reduce Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Violence (SafeFutures) is a 5-year demonstration initiative supported by the U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP). SafeFutures seeks to prevent and control youth crime and victimization through the creation of a continuum of care in communities. This continuum of care enables communities to respond to the needs of youth at critical stages in their development by providing them with appropriate prevention, intervention, and treatment services and imposing graduated sanctions. SafeFutures community-based program operations and evaluation activities began in late spring/summer 1996. Six local government grantees—Boston, MA; Contra Costa County, CA; Fort Belknap Indian Community, MT; Imperial County, CA; Seattle, WA; and St. Louis, MO—were selected to represent urban, rural, and American Indian communities that demonstrated some prior experience with and a continuing commitment to reducing crime and victimization through comprehensive community assessments, strategic planning, and interagency collaboration.

In response to OJJDP's interest in determining the success of site-specific efforts, each community commissioned a local evaluation, and OJJDP funded a national cross-site evaluation performed by The Urban Institute (Rossman, Kopczynski, and Morley, 1999; Rossman et al., 1998). This Summary draws on information obtained through multiple visits to each SafeFutures community during the first 3 years of the initiative, followup discussions with selected participants to clarify specific aspects of program implementation, and analyses of secondary documents.

The SafeFutures Initiative

The SafeFutures initiative is the result of a concerted Federal effort to link research findings about risk and protective factors for youth with state-of-the-art knowledge about promising approaches to preventing and controlling juvenile delinquency. The initiative embraces many of the most important innovations being suggested by practitioners and researchers (see, for example, Connell, Aber, and Walker, 1995). SafeFutures seeks to help participating communities expand collaborative efforts directed at reducing juvenile delinquency and violence. The initiative calls for the creation of a continuum of care, that is, a multidisciplinary system capable of timely, effective, and appropriate responses to individual or family needs for prevention, intervention, treatment, or corrections services.

To a large extent, the SafeFutures initiative is a manifestation of OJJDP's Comprehensive Strategy for Serious, Violent, and Chronic Juvenile Offenders (Wilson and Howell, 1993), which combines research findings about the etiology and development of delinquency with principles articulated by Hawkins and Catalano in 1992 on the concept of risk and protective factors. In a sense, SafeFutures makes the Comprehensive Strategy operational by pooling Federal and local funds from nine broad program areas, referred to as program components, to support the demonstration communities' development or enhancement of their continuum of services for youth and to contribute to meeting the overall goals of the initiative. The nine components that constitute SafeFutures are (1) afterschool programs (Pathways to Success), (2) juvenile mentoring programs (JUMP), (3) family strengthening and support services, (4) mental health services for at-risk and adjudicated youth, (5) delinquency prevention programs, (6) comprehensive communitywide approaches to gang-free schools and communities, (7) community-based day treatment programs—Bethesda Day Treatment Center model, (8) continuum-of-care services for at-risk and delinquent girls, and (9) serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offender (SVCJO) programs (with an emphasis on enhancing graduated sanctions).

SafeFutures encourages community collaboratives to tailor prevention, intervention, treatment, and graduated sanctions strategies to local needs and capacities. As a result of the local autonomy and flexibility built into the initiative, the services provided by the six sites under the nine specific components vary considerably. Variation also results from different levels of emphasis on particular components and from differences in service configuration. In addition, the SafeFutures initiatives are evolving. Like other comprehensive community initiatives, these efforts involve a high degree of complexity, from building or expanding effective collaborations to developing and fine-tuning services to fill gaps and multidisciplinary delivery mechanisms. Service configurations, partnerships, and other aspects of systems reform are emerging over time, as local leaders and program managers identify new opportunities and/or successfully resolve existing difficulties.

Lessons Learned

A variety of lessons can be learned from the early implementation of the SafeFutures initiative. Some lessons are common to any complex demonstration, others are less frequently encountered and may result from SafeFutures' emphasis on collaboration and the implementation of programs to address the nine components. This Summary groups key lessons learned into three categories reflecting three primary audiences: those responsible for creating or managing funded demonstration projects; those involved in community-based collaboratives; and those responsible for providing services to youth at high risk of delinquency, violence, and victimization and their families. Because it is not always easy to classify a given point and because points may overlap, some findings probably apply to more than one category.

Funded Demonstration Programs

- To implement complex, multifaceted initiatives, funders and demonstration sites should adopt an iterative and flexible approach to program development and implementation. Such flexibility, however, has limits for both sides involved in a demonstration program. Funders' flexibility may be somewhat constrained by legislative restrictions regarding the use of funds or mandated program elements. The demonstration sites' flexibility to modify program components is often constrained by the funders' need to ensure program fidelity in replicating a particular model.
- Communities need access to ongoing training and technical assistance to ensure effective implementation of highly structured or particularly complex components and to adapt generic models to the local context. For example, in addition to providing sites with built-in resources for basic SafeFutures technical assistance, OJJDP encouraged sites to obtain additional technical assistance on mentoring through its National Mentoring Center. Funders also may need to encourage communities to access available technical assistance, as in years 3 and 4 of the SafeFutures demonstration when OJJDP strongly encouraged sites to use training and technical assistance to fully implement the Spergel Model for the gang-free schools and communities component. Further, funders must expand the range of technical assistance resources as necessary. The development of the Systems Improvement Training and Technical Assistance Program (SITTAP) exemplifies OJJDP's recognition of the need to provide more focused training and technical assistance on the systems change objectives of SafeFutures.
- Small service providers generally need more and different types of technical assistance and training than large, well-established organizations. Small community-based organizations are often less familiar with aspects of program implementation such as accountability, recordkeeping, reporting, program evaluation, and other common requirements for demonstration programs.
- Demonstration sites need flexibility to exercise cultural sensitivity and competence in program implementation. Although several programs in each SafeFutures community were specifically tailored to the cultural context of a targeted population, staff and service providers encountered difficulties adapting some components, such as mentoring, to ensure their relevance to the cultural context.
- Communities and program staff appear reluctant to impose eligibility criteria in a way that will ensure that they serve youth at highest risk or in greatest need. Many staff seem to regard all youth residing in target areas as being at risk and fail to see a need to identify those at greater risk.
- Replication of programs that were successful in other communities (or under different circumstances within the local community) does not guarantee similarly positive results in a new setting. It may be difficult for demonstration

sites to isolate and duplicate the features of a program that are specifically responsible for the program's success.

- Program sustainability should be addressed well in advance of anticipated termination of Federal (or other external) support.

Community-Based Collaboratives

- The process of systems reform can be seen as a continuum with gradations and permutations. Bringing together actors from different institutional contexts who logically need to interact with one another but have not previously done so can be viewed as an early indication that systems reform is under way.
- Communities need a considerable amount of time, effort, and trust to develop viable collaborations, which are complex mechanisms. Collaborations involve organizations with different institutional climates and varying levels of autonomy, flexibility, and power; individuals with differing levels of experience and expertise; and diverse cultural contexts that give rise to different ways of defining issues and solutions. Collaborative relationships need to be nurtured and maintained over time. This is not easy to do and requires considerable time and effort.
- To be successful, collaborations need individuals in positions of authority to exert their leadership to secure resources and support.
- In collaborative ventures, the differing perspectives of staff from different systems need to be recognized and respected if partnerships are to succeed. To work as a team, partners should "learn each other's language" and develop an understanding of the values and norms of their respective fields. Cross-training also helps promote teamwork.
- Turnover among elected officials and administrators of key partner agencies can have a negative impact on collaborative efforts.
- Implementation of services and activities in multiple components can take longer than either the local communities or the funders originally anticipate. The use of subcontracts or other agreements with agencies that are already operating similar programs (e.g., afterschool or mentoring programs) can facilitate relatively early implementation of programming. The downside of such agreements, however, may be the continuation of "business as usual," rather than the careful consideration of whether reforms are necessary. In cases where staff have to be hired and new programs established, services to youth can be delayed by startup activities.
- By introducing a variety of accountability mechanisms over the course of the initiative, communities can help ensure that multiple service providers fulfill their obligations.

- Programs operating in partnership with other agencies can be discontinued for reasons unrelated to the initiative—even when the program is considered successful.

Service Provision

- Communities are willing and able to implement programming that is innovative in the local area. For most communities, however, implementing innovative programming has both beneficial and detrimental effects. Most new approaches offer the opportunity to fill a previously unmet need or gap in service but provide no formulaic approach to success for communities to follow. In most cases, service providers experience learning curves and have to find creative ways to redress unanticipated difficulties, many of which are logistical.
- Staff turnover in leadership and other key positions can seriously hinder program implementation and stability. Turnover affects program continuity and disrupts institutional memory. Staff may need to reestablish linkages and, in some cases, restart programs that lapsed during periods of staff change.
- Filling positions—especially positions involving specialized skills—can be a problem, particularly in rural areas that have a limited professional workforce.
- Recruiting mentors and other volunteers is particularly challenging in low-income areas. Transportation and poverty issues affect programs' ability to attract and fully utilize volunteers. Recruiting mentors is also more challenging for programs that serve youth already involved in the juvenile justice system or youth who may be perceived as high risk by potential mentors.
- "Hidden" resource requirements can pose challenges to program implementation. Several programs encountered unanticipated costs associated with transportation and food—both of which are important elements of many programs that serve a low-income population.
- Communities may have difficulty getting families of at-risk youth to support services for their children or to participate in family-focused services. A number of factors contribute to this difficulty: parents may feel intimidated by the institutional settings or staff; parents may fear that participation might reveal their dysfunctional behaviors; and parents may face logistical challenges, including limited access to transportation.
- Programs need to be developmentally appropriate—in terms of both substance and setting. Programs seem to experience more difficulty attracting and retaining older teens than middle or elementary school-age children.
- It is more difficult—and takes longer—to see results of program efforts on youth who are beyond the at-risk stage, such as those already deeply involved in the juvenile justice system, gangs, or substance abuse. Prevention

programs often are able to see changes in participants' behavior and attitude in the short run. Intervention programs may see little or no real change after considerable lengths of time. The lack of measurable program outcomes in such cases makes it difficult for administrators and funders to determine whether intervention programs are working and should continue receiving support or whether modifications or alternative programs are needed.

Introduction

The SafeFutures Program To Reduce Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Violence (SafeFutures) is a 5-year demonstration initiative supported by the U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP). SafeFutures seeks to prevent and control youth crime and victimization through the creation of a continuum of care in communities. This continuum of care enables communities to respond to the needs of youth at critical stages in their development by providing them with appropriate prevention, intervention, and treatment services and imposing graduated sanctions on juvenile offenders. SafeFutures community-based program operations and evaluation activities began in late spring/summer 1996.[1] Six local government grantees—Boston, MA; Contra Costa County, CA; Fort Belknap Indian Community, MT; Imperial County, CA; Seattle, WA; and St. Louis, MO—were selected to represent urban, rural, and American Indian communities that demonstrated some prior experience with and a continuing commitment to reducing crime and victimization through comprehensive community assessments, strategic planning, and interagency collaboration.

In response to OJJDP's interest in determining the success of site-specific efforts, each community commissioned a local evaluation, and OJJDP funded a national cross-site evaluation performed by The Urban Institute. (For a more detailed discussion of the national evaluation, see Rossman, Kopczynski, and Morley, 1999, and Rossman et al., 1998.)

This Summary is one in a series of reports based on data collected for the cross-site evaluation. It is based on information obtained through multiple visits by evaluators from The Urban Institute to each SafeFutures community during the first 3 years of the initiative, followup discussions with selected participants to clarify specific aspects of program implementation, and analyses of secondary documents.[2] Future reports will address selected aspects of the initiative, including specific components of the SafeFutures model (such as gang intervention efforts) and key elements of the service delivery system (such as systems reform and strategic planning).

This Summary focuses on the sites' implementation of SafeFutures during the first 3 years of the initiative. The first major section describes the SafeFutures initiative, its goals, and its theoretical foundation. The first section also includes an overview of the demonstration sites and a discussion of each site's management structure for SafeFutures. Subsequent major sections discuss each of the nine SafeFutures components. Each of these sections provides a brief description of the component and selected examples of local programs addressing that component. The examples were chosen to illustrate the variety of programs implemented and are not intended to serve as an exhaustive inventory of SafeFutures programming. Rather, examples reflect programming that appears promising, includes innovative features, or highlights such broad themes as interagency collaboration, systems reform, cultural competency, and/or advocacy.

SafeFutures seeks to prevent and control youth crime and victimization through the creation of a continuum of care in communities.

Comprehensive community initiatives are intended to bring about systems reform.

To illustrate the potential pitfalls facing initiatives such as SafeFutures, the Summary includes some examples of programs that were discontinued or that encountered particular difficulties. The final section identifies lessons learned during SafeFutures' first 3 years. It is important to acknowledge that sites are continuing to build on community strengths and respond to the challenges noted in this Summary. A full account of the sites' continued progress and challenges will be documented in the final evaluation report.

The SafeFutures Initiative

The SafeFutures initiative is the result of a concerted Federal effort to link research findings about risk and protective factors for youth with state-of-the-art knowledge about promising approaches to preventing and controlling juvenile delinquency. The initiative embraces many of the most important innovations being suggested by practitioners and researchers (see, for example, Connell, Aber, and Walker, 1995). A central feature of SafeFutures is its emphasis on using comprehensive community strategies to combat the segmentation and fragmentation of social, health, educational, and juvenile justice services that often result in missed opportunities to help at-risk youth and their families before problems escalate to monumental proportions (Morrill and Gerry, 1990; Burt, Resnick, and Matheson, 1992). Comprehensive community initiatives are intended to bring about systems reform; they provide public and private entities with both the opportunity and the challenge to implement more effective policies and practices (e.g., pooling resources, sharing information). SafeFutures encourages community collaboratives to tailor prevention, intervention, treatment, and graduated sanctions strategies to local needs and capacities.

Goals of the Demonstration Programs

OJJDP has articulated the following goals for the local demonstrations (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 1995, 1997):

- **Prevention and control of juvenile violence and delinquency** through (1) reducing risk factors and increasing protective factors for delinquency, (2) providing a continuum of services for youth at risk of delinquency and for juvenile offenders, and (3) developing a full range of graduated sanctions designed to hold delinquent youth accountable to their victim(s) and community, ensure community safety, and provide appropriate treatment and rehabilitation services.
- **Implementation of enhanced service delivery systems for at-risk youth and their families.** As envisioned by OJJDP, the service delivery system should constitute a multidisciplinary system of care that offers comprehensive, developmentally appropriate, and coordinated child and family services oriented to promoting healthy youth development and reducing delinquency and victimization. Implicit in this vision is the expectation that each

community should be capable of responding in an efficient, effective, and timely fashion to individual and family needs at any point of entry into the continuum of care.

- **Institutionalization of each community's capacity to sustain its continuum of care** by engaging the support of key leaders in government and community-based organizations, implementing strategic planning, and expanding and diversifying funding sources.
- **Incorporation of accountability mechanisms that determine the success of SafeFutures' implementation and the outcomes achieved,** including whether a comprehensive strategy involving community-based efforts and program resources concentrated on providing a continuum of care has succeeded in preventing and reducing juvenile violence and delinquency.

The SafeFutures initiative is largely a manifestation of OJJDP's Comprehensive Strategy for Serious, Violent, and Chronic Juvenile Offenders.

Theoretical Foundation

The SafeFutures initiative is largely a manifestation of OJJDP's Comprehensive Strategy for Serious, Violent, and Chronic Juvenile Offenders (Wilson and Howell, 1993), which combines research findings about the etiology and development of delinquency with principles articulated by Hawkins and Catalano in 1992 on the concept of risk and protective factors. The Comprehensive Strategy focuses on two distinct populations of juveniles: (1) youth who are at high risk of future delinquent behavior and (2) youthful offenders who have already exhibited delinquent behavior and are at risk of, or already are, engaging in serious, violent, or chronic law breaking.

At its heart, the Comprehensive Strategy suggests an integrated model for community action that marries two components: (1) a range of prevention/intervention activities and (2) enhanced juvenile justice system responses in the form of graduated sanctions and a continuum of treatment alternatives such as restitution, community service, and aftercare (Howell, 1995). This approach takes into account the following hypotheses:

- Family life profoundly affects criminality (McCord, 1991a, 1991b).
- There are varying paths to delinquency (Huizinga, Esbensen, and Weiher, 1991).
- Reciprocal, not unidirectional, relationships exist between delinquency, school, and family/community bonds (Thornberry et al., 1991).
- The initiation, continuance, and desistance of delinquency have different patterns, causes, and correlates (Elliott, 1994; Smith and Brame, 1994).

Risk-Focused Prevention

Research has repeatedly identified risk factors associated with adolescent problem behaviors, such as failure to complete high school, teen pregnancy and

Delinquency can be delayed or prevented by reducing risk factors and enhancing protective factors.

Key Principles of OJJDP's Comprehensive Strategy

The following are the six key principles of OJJDP's Comprehensive Strategy for Serious, Violent, and Chronic Juvenile Offenders:

- Strengthen families in their role of guiding, disciplining, and instilling sound values in their children.
- Support core social institutions and their role in supporting families and helping children develop their maximum potential.
- Promote delinquency prevention strategies and activities that reduce the impact of negative (risk) factors and enhance the influence of positive (protective) factors in the lives of youth at greatest risk of delinquency.
- Provide immediate, effective, and appropriate interventions at the first signs of trouble in a child's life.
- Establish a system of graduated sanctions and a continuum of services to respond appropriately to the needs of each juvenile offender.
- Identify and control the small group of serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offenders who account for the majority of juvenile crime by providing their incapacitation while at the same time addressing their treatment needs.

Under OJJDP's Comprehensive Strategy, families and communities, supported by core social institutions, have primary responsibility for meeting the basic socializing needs of the Nation's children. By identifying risk factors, communities are able to develop approaches that can reduce juvenile delinquency.

parenting, and law breaking (Tolan and Guerra, 1994; Reiss and Roth, 1993; Hawkins, Catalano, and Miller, 1992; Dryfoos, 1990). The approach popularized by Hawkins and Catalano (Developmental Research and Programs, Inc., 1993) identifies a number of critical risk and protective factors in various domains. Ostensibly, the more risk factors to which a child is exposed, the greater the chance of the child's developing delinquent behavior and the greater the likelihood that the child's law-breaking behavior will become serious. However, delinquency can be delayed or prevented by reducing risk factors and enhancing protective factors such as positive social orientation, prosocial bonding, and clear and positive standards of behavior (Howell, 1995). Communities can

improve chances for youth to lead healthy, productive, crime-free lives by reducing economic and social privation and mitigating individual risk factors (e.g., poor family functioning, academic failure), while promoting youth's abilities to (1) bond with peers, family members, and mentors, (2) be productive in school, sports, and work, and (3) successfully navigate the various rules and socially accepted routines required in a variety of settings (Hawkins and Catalano, 1992; Connell, Aber, and Walker, 1995). Implicit in this perspective is the recognition that prevention programming must address risk factors at the appropriate developmental stage and as early as possible.

The Communities That Care model (Developmental Research and Programs, Inc., 1993) presents a "blueprint for action" that is consistent with risk-focused prevention. The model suggests that communities undertake comprehensive strategic planning to utilize existing resources and programs and to develop a coordinated response tailored to local needs. The recommended process involves a planning phase that includes assessment of the community's resources, activities designed to mobilize the community, strategic planning to identify local priorities for strengthening existing resources/services, and development of evaluation mechanisms to monitor the success of community-based efforts. The initial planning phase also entails formation of a community prevention board, composed of key leaders, as a permanent institution to facilitate long-term continuity. The implementation phase includes ongoing risk and resource assessments and program evaluations to tailor the risk prevention and protective components of community-based programs to the changing needs of the local environment (Howell, 1995).

Graduated Sanctions for Youthful Offenders

The conceptualization of a communitywide system of graduated sanctions is intended to achieve balanced and restorative justice—accountability, public safety, and competency development—based on the assumption that a well-designed system of treatment and punishment options can offer more than "bad choices between sending kids to jail or sending them to the beach" (Bazemore and Day, 1996, p. 3). Wilson and Howell (1993, in Howell, 1995) describe the potential to combine fair, humane, and appropriate sanctions with treatment and rehabilitation in a continuum of care composed of diverse programs that include:

- **Immediate sanctions** for first-time, nonviolent offenders.
- **Intermediate sanctions** in the community for more serious offenses.
- **Secure care (residential) programs** reserved for the relatively small fraction of juvenile offenders who commit serious or violent crimes.

Implicit in this model is the view that most juvenile offenders can be rehabilitated using community-based programs and services, rather than more resource-intensive and restrictive institutional facilities. The graduated sanctions approach permits the justice system to respond more effectively to a juvenile's

Implicit in this model is the view that most juvenile offenders can be rehabilitated using community-based programs and services, rather than more resource-intensive and restrictive institutional facilities.

The approach is consistent with research on juvenile offenders that has demonstrated that community-based sanctions can reduce recidivism at lower cost to the community and with greater effect than incarceration.

Communities That Care Model: Risk and Protective Factors

Community

Risk Factors

- Availability of drugs.
- Availability of firearms.
- Community laws/norms favorable to drug use, firearms, and crime.
- Media portrayals of violence.
- Transitions and mobility.
- Low neighborhood attachment.
- Community disorganization.
- Extreme economic deprivation.

Protective Factors

- Clear and consistent standards for prosocial behavior that are widely and frequently communicated.

Family

Risk Factors

- Family history of problem behavior.
- Family management problems.
- Family conflict.
- Favorable parental attitudes toward and involvement in the problem behavior.

Protective Factors

- Healthy beliefs.
- Clear and consistent standards for prosocial behavior.

continued

criminal behavior through increased monitoring, identification, and evaluation of this behavior and by improving the juvenile justice system's responsiveness, effectiveness, accountability, and responsibility. The approach is consistent with research on juvenile offenders that has demonstrated that community-based sanctions can reduce recidivism at lower cost to the community and with greater effect than incarceration (Howell, 1995).

Ideally, graduated sanctions should be structured as a continuum through which law-breaking youth move based on a risk-focused classification structure that guides juvenile placement decisions. For each level of offense (roughly classified as minor, serious, or violent), a set of programs would be designated as the appropriate option to meet the needs of the offender and the community. For

School

Risk Factors

- Early and persistent antisocial behavior.
- Academic failure beginning in elementary school.
- Lack of commitment to school.

Individual

Risk Factors

- Alienation and rebelliousness.
- Friends who engage in a problem behavior.
- Favorable attitudes toward the problem behavior.
- Early initiation of the problem behavior.
- Constitutional factors.

Protective Factors

- Prosocial bonding with family members, adults outside the family, and low-risk peers.
- Opportunities for meaningful involvement in positive activities.
- Skill-building activities.
- Rewards for positive contributions.

Source: Adapted from Developmental Research and Programs, Inc., *Communities That Care: Risk-Focused Prevention Using the Social Development Strategy—An Approach to Reducing Adolescent Problem Behavior*, Seattle, WA: Developmental Research and Programs, Inc., 1993.

Fourteen States using risk-focused classification systems had been effective in making consistently appropriate offender placements.

example, mentoring, restitution with an employability skills and job placement component, or teen court might be options for immediate sanctions in a particular community setting, while boot camp or some form of residential confinement might be designated as options for secure care. Placement decisions would weigh the severity of each juvenile's history of offenses and the presence of risk factors that indicate a potential threat to the community. The assessment process also would entail the development of customized treatment plans tailored to meet the individual needs of each juvenile offender. This type of assessment might result in assigning a juvenile with a high risk level who committed a less serious offense to the same intermediate sanctioning program as a violent offender with a low risk level (Howell, 1995).

Thus far, no community is known to have implemented a fully operational graduated sanctions system. However, a study by Krisberg et al. (1995) demonstrated that 14 States using risk-focused classification systems had been effective in making consistently appropriate offender placements. Recidivism rates in the study were shown to be more a function of risk level than offense severity. The study also found that States using this model had demonstrated consistent cost savings by reducing the use of secure-care residential placements. However, the use of different types of risk assessment instruments resulted in

very different numbers of offenders recommended for placement at each risk level (Krisberg et al., 1995).

Sites have the flexibility to implement programs and blend funds across categories, enabling them to address local needs and manage resources.

The Program Model

SafeFutures seeks to help participating communities to expand collaborative efforts directed at reducing juvenile delinquency and violence. A major assumption underlying the program is that communities can accomplish such objectives by improving their delivery systems for youth and family services. The model calls for the creation of a continuum of care that is a multidisciplinary system capable of timely, effective, and appropriate responses to individual or family needs for prevention, intervention, treatment, or corrections services. Key elements envisioned by program planners include the following:

- A range of services appropriate to diverse client needs, from prenatal stages through adulthood.
- Collaborations across institutional domains (e.g., collaborations involving human services, juvenile justice, and educational systems).
- Public-private partnerships to mobilize the community and to leverage the resources needed to institutionalize the continuum of care.

In a sense, SafeFutures implements the Comprehensive Strategy by pooling Federal and local funds from nine broad program areas, referred to as program components, to support the demonstration communities' development or enhancement of their continuum of services for youth and to contribute to meeting the overall goals of the initiative. Implementation of activities or services to meet the objectives of the categoric components is one of the key responsibilities of the local initiatives, in addition to developing or enhancing the collaborative and organizational framework for the initiative and introducing or continuing systems reform efforts.

The nine components that constitute SafeFutures are (1) afterschool programs (Pathways to Success), (2) juvenile mentoring programs (JUMP), (3) family strengthening and support services, (4) mental health services for at-risk and adjudicated youth, (5) delinquency prevention programs, (6) comprehensive communitywide approaches to gang-free schools and communities, (7) community-based day treatment programs—Bethesda Day Treatment Center model, (8) continuum-of-care services for at-risk and delinquent girls, and (9) serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offender (SVCJO) programs (with an emphasis on enhancing graduated sanctions).[3] The table on page 10 summarizes key elements of each component.

Under SafeFutures, sites have the flexibility to implement programs and blend funds across categories, enabling them to address local needs and manage resources. For example, both Contra Costa County and Seattle blended funding for the JUMP and at-risk and delinquent girls components to engineer mentoring activities targeted to females. Similarly, the Boys & Girls Club

in Boston was funded to provide mentoring, afterschool, and delinquency prevention (court diversion) services during the second year of the initiative, although only prevention activities were continued the following year.

As a result of the local autonomy and flexibility built into the initiative, the services provided under specific components vary considerably in the six sites. Variation among the sites also is due to their having emphasized different components. The sites' ability to make services available also varied across sites. The demonstration sites received their awards at slightly different times, and different lengths of time were needed both within and across jurisdictions to reach the point of actually serving youth under the various components. Across the six communities, some components are provided by agencies that were fully operational and already providing the same, or similar, services anticipated for SafeFutures clients. By contrast, service delivery under other components could not begin until staff were hired and other startup activities completed. Implementation efforts were hindered in some cases by unexpected challenges or barriers.

SafeFutures initiatives are evolving. Like other comprehensive community initiatives, SafeFutures efforts involve a high degree of complexity, from building or expanding effective collaborations through developing and fine-tuning services and multidisciplinary delivery mechanisms. Service configurations, partnerships, and other aspects of systems reform are emerging over time, as local leaders and program managers identify new opportunities or successfully resolve existing difficulties. During the first 3 years of the demonstration, some communities experienced turnover in providers for one or more services—which, in effect, required them to start from scratch with a new provider. Change in some areas also occurred in response to increasingly specific guidance from OJJDP (and more focused training and technical assistance, usually directly or indirectly provided by OJJDP) that identified program expectations, recommended procedures, and anticipated activities.

Service configurations, partnerships, and other aspects of systems reform are emerging over time, as local leaders and program managers identify new opportunities or successfully resolve existing difficulties.

Overview of SafeFutures Communities

Of the six SafeFutures sites, three are multijurisdictional or large scale in their geographical scope: Contra Costa County, Fort Belknap, and Imperial County. The remaining demonstrations target relatively circumscribed neighborhoods.[4] Although not required to do so, virtually all of the initiatives have focused their efforts on minority youth and families, which is likely to underscore the importance of developing culturally appropriate responses to critical youth needs or risk factors. The following is a brief description of the SafeFutures communities and their target areas.[5]

Boston, MA. Boston SafeFutures targets an area consisting of three neighborhoods—Grove Hall, Franklin Hill/Franklin Field, and Mattapan—known as the Blue Hill Avenue Corridor. The Corridor has approximately 56,000 residents, 31 percent of whom are younger than 18 years of age. The neighborhoods are historically linked into one community through transit, housing, and commerce. The Corridor typifies inner-city decline:

SafeFutures Initiative: Program Components

Component	Funding*	Key Elements
Enhancing Protective Factors: Providing Opportunities and Role Models		
Afterschool Programs (Pathways to Success)	$40,000	Provide afterschool, weekend, and summer programs: ■ Vocational/Entrepreneurial. ■ Recreational. ■ Arts education. **Target at-risk youth (ages 6–18) and their families.** **Conduct all activities outside of the schoolday.** Provide activities with lasting community impact (e.g., beautification projects).
Juvenile Mentoring Programs (JUMP)	$200,000	**Support one-on-one mentoring program.** **Involve local education agency and access to school records.** **Target youth at risk of educational failure, dropping out of school, or delinquency.** **Recruit and assign mentors age 21 and older.** Design activities that should: ■ Improve school performance. ■ Reduce delinquency and gang participation. ■ Promote personal and social responsibility. ■ Encourage service and community activities.
Family Strengthening and Support Services	$200,000	Promote healthy child development and positive family interaction and support families in crisis: ■ Resource guide. ■ Gap-filling family service programs in priority areas. ■ Intensive family case management system and services integration.
Mental Health Services for At-Risk and Adjudicated Youth	$150,000	Develop a task force to promote community involvement in mental health issues. Support activities to improve accessibility, quality, and efficiency of mental health services: ■ Mobile mental health services. ■ Consultation services for juvenile justice staff. ■ Forensic case management. ■ Training to improve clinical services. ■ Involvement of families in individual service plans.

continued

Component	Funding*	Key Elements
Preventing Delinquency and Promoting Gang-Free Environment		
Delinquency Prevention Programs	$200,000	Implement programs such as: ■ Tutoring and remedial education. ■ Employability skills training. ■ Health and mental health services. ■ Alcohol and Other Drug Abuse (AODA) prevention services. ■ Leadership development. ■ Recreational services.
Comprehensive Communitywide Approaches to Gang-Free Schools and Communities	$400,000	**Follow the OJJDP model:** ■ **Community mobilization.** ■ **Opportunities provision.** ■ **Social intervention.** ■ **Suppression.** ■ **Organizational change and development.** ■ **Eleven key agencies included.** ■ **Gang-involved youth targeted.** ■ $100,000 may be used for gang prevention.
Bethesda Day Treatment Center Services	$30,000	Provide intensive outpatient, community-based treatment centers for pre- and postadjudicated youth with five areas of service: ■ Day treatment. ■ Prep school. ■ AODA services. ■ Foster care. ■ Family systems counseling.
High-Risk Youth, Juvenile Offenders, and Enhanced Juvenile Justice System		
Continuum-of-Care Services for At-Risk and Delinquent Girls	$120,000	Implement a comprehensive continuum of services specifically for girls: ■ **Case management and followup.** ■ Basic education. ■ Life management. ■ Personal growth. ■ Health and counseling. ■ Parenting. ■ Childcare services for teen parents. ■ Interaction with positive role models. ■ Family involvement.
Serious, Violent, and Chronic Juvenile Offender (SVCJO) Programs	$100,000	Plan and implement graduated sanctions for delinquent offenders: ■ Immediate. ■ Intermediate. ■ Secure confinement and aftercare. ■ Family involvement and aftercare.

Note: Required elements in bold typeface.

*Funding amounts are the maximum available to each site from OJJDP.

Fort Belknap Indian Reservation is one of two SafeFutures sites in rural settings and the only site in an American Indian setting.

vacant lots and boarded-up buildings abound, and few residents use parks and open areas. It contains three large public housing developments and a number of "granites," scattered apartment buildings managed by the State housing finance agency through private for-profit companies. The Corridor is characterized by high rates of unemployment and poverty: 26 percent of the population in the target area fall below the poverty level. Almost 87 percent of the area's residents are African American (including Caribbean American), and the remaining population is 9.2 percent Latino, 2.8 percent Caucasian, and 1.3 percent other non-Hispanics. The past 20 years have seen an influx of Caribbean Americans to the Corridor, and service providers cite a large gap in culturally specific services available to meet the needs of this population.

Contra Costa County, CA. Contra Costa County is located on the northeastern shore of the San Francisco Bay. The SafeFutures demonstration focuses its efforts on two levels. Most of the prevention and gang intervention activities are concentrated in several neighborhoods in Richmond (located in the western section of the county), known as the Iron Triangle area, where approximately 73 percent of the population is African American, 11 percent is Caucasian, 10 percent is Latino, 6 percent is Asian/Pacific Islander, and 2 percent is Native American. Graduated sanctions and aftercare case management programs are countywide in scope and target seriously emotionally disturbed juvenile offenders, female offenders, and juveniles returning to the community from the Orrin Allen Youth Rehabilitation Facility.

Fort Belknap, MT. Fort Belknap Indian Reservation is one of two SafeFutures sites in rural settings and the only site in an American Indian setting. The reservation, located in the north central part of Montana, is isolated from major service areas. The closest big cities, Great Falls and Billings, are each 2–3 hours' driving distance from Fort Belknap. The nearest towns are quite small, severely limiting the availability of social services. Fort Belknap has a tribal enrollment of 5,232 individuals from two different tribes; approximately 3,800 individuals reside on or adjacent to the reservation. The reservation includes four distinct communities that are isolated from each other by distance and cultural differences associated with different tribes. Approximately 45 percent of the reservation's residents live in poverty, and unemployment is high (68 to 72 percent). Alcoholism is reported to be a major problem. The primary population targeted for the SafeFutures demonstration is the nearly 1,370 Gros Ventre and Assiniboine youth (ages 6 to 18 and roughly 51 percent male) living on or adjacent to the reservation.

Imperial County, CA. Imperial County, located in the southeastern corner of California near the Mexican border, is another multijurisdictional demonstration and the other rural SafeFutures community. The county comprises roughly 4,300 square miles, contains approximately 100,000

people, and includes the largest percentage of Latinos of any county in the State. Approximately 31 percent of Imperial County's youth live in poverty, and 24 percent of county residents have incomes that are at or below the poverty level. The targeted area for SafeFutures services includes the county's north end communities of Brawley, Calipatria, Niland, and Westmoreland. These communities are isolated from other services by distance and topography (i.e., mountains and desert) and have few activities or supportive programs for youth. Most services are located in the county seat, El Centro, which is approximately 30–60 minutes' driving distance from the north end.

Seattle, WA. Seattle's initial target area included four distinct low-income neighborhoods: the Central Area, International District, Delridge, and Southeast Seattle communities. Poverty and unemployment rates are triple the citywide average in these areas, which contain all of the city's low-income public housing. These areas have experienced some of the highest crime rates in the city and are focal points for gang-related violence. The population in these four areas is racially and ethnically diverse, and many of the residents are recent immigrants or are "linguistically isolated." Seattle has modified its focus to target at-risk populations citywide, specifically Asian/Pacific Islander youth (especially individuals of Vietnamese and Cambodian origin), at-risk and delinquent girls, gang-affiliated youth, and youth already in the juvenile justice system.

St. Louis, MO. St. Louis SafeFutures chose three neighborhood areas known for high levels of socioeconomic risk, juvenile crime, gang participation, and drug activity. The selected neighborhoods had community-based resources to support the planned initiative, including three schools refashioned as Community Education Centers (CEC's) jointly established by the City of St. Louis and the St. Louis public schools. The schools redesigned as CEC's are Carver and Sherman (elementary schools) and Williams (middle school). The service area has approximately 58,000 residents; in the Carver and Williams CEC catchment areas, African Americans account for 91 percent and 99 percent of the population, respectively, while 47 percent of the population in the Sherman CEC area is African American. Virtually half of the children in these neighborhoods are living in poverty, and nearly one-quarter of 16- to 19-year-olds in the neighborhoods are high school dropouts.

SafeFutures Local Administration

Although the six SafeFutures sites vary in the number and types of participating entities, most tend to have a core organizational structure composed of an administering entity (fiscal agent or grantee), a policy advisory group responsible for providing oversight and direction to the initiative, and a management team responsible for the day-to-day implementation of the grant.

The independent missions of the entities charged with administrative responsi-

Although the six SafeFutures sites vary in the number and types of participating entities, most tend to have a core organizational structure.

The concept of a SafeFutures management team was introduced by OJJDP and adopted to varying degrees by the sites.

bility for the SafeFutures grant vary substantially; some have broad, flexible mandates, while others operate within more limited confines. SafeFutures grants are administered by the following entities:

- **Boston, MA:** The Office of Community Partnerships, a department in Boston's Human Services Cabinet.
- **Contra Costa County, CA:** The County Administrator's Office.
- **Fort Belknap, MT:** Fort Belknap Community College, a tribally operated college.
- **Imperial County, CA:** The County Office of Education.
- **Seattle, WA:** The Department of Human Services,[6] a city agency.
- **St. Louis, MO:** The Mayor's Office of Youth Development.

In all sites, the project director is a staff member of the lead administrative entity responsible for the grant. However, the scope of the project directors' responsibilities varies across sites. In some sites, day-to-day management responsibility for the initiative is either shared with or has been assigned to a project coordinator. In these instances, the project director retains overall administrative responsibility. This type of arrangement exists in Boston, Fort Belknap, and St. Louis (although in the first, the "coordinator" position has the title of "project director").

Fort Belknap, Imperial County, and Seattle differ from the others in that some service delivery staff are directly employed by the SafeFutures initiative and report to the individual who has direct management responsibilities at those sites (such as the project coordinator and project director). In effect, these sites have hired direct service delivery staff in addition to relying on local partnerships or instead of contracting for services delivered by independent providers. In Fort Belknap, direct service delivery staff were hired primarily because of the relative lack of existing service delivery agencies that could provide SafeFutures services. In Seattle, SafeFutures initially hired staff for the SafeFutures Youth Center as employees of the Department of Human Services (the agency administering SafeFutures) because it believed that the facility would become operational more expeditiously than it would have if subcontracting were used.

The concept of a SafeFutures management team was introduced by OJJDP and adopted to varying degrees by the sites. The team generally includes the project director or project coordinator and two or three supporting positions. St. Louis is the only site that includes local evaluators as part of its management team, although the local evaluators in Boston began attending management team meetings during year 2. In some sites (such as Contra Costa County and Imperial County), representatives of key partner agencies are part of the management team. In addition to the management team, several sites periodically convene representatives of partner agencies in various forums. St. Louis is one such site.

St. Louis, MO. St. Louis began holding monthly meetings of partner agencies in the first year of program implementation to focus on broad issues related to the initiative. Separate monthly meetings of Caring Adults (staff in partner agencies responsible for overseeing case management of SafeFutures youth) were added later to share information related to cases and discuss general issues related to services (e.g., gaps, available resources, new programs).

The second organizational unit involved in SafeFutures administration and implementation is a local policy advisory board. The responsibilities of policy boards range from general oversight and coordination to strategic planning to achieve systems change. Although each site's organizational structure includes a policy board, or functional equivalent, individual sites exhibit considerable variation in models for involving key leaders and community representatives in the policy role. Characteristics of policy boards vary by composition, size, breadth, and scope of advisory responsibility and by whether responsibilities are overlapping or shared with other local policymaking bodies. (A detailed discussion of policy boards is provided in Rossman et al., 1998.)

Individual sites exhibit considerable variation in models for involving key leaders and community representatives in the policy role.

In addition to management teams and policy boards, several sites have convened a variety of task forces to strategize and support the implementation of activities that transcend individual agency boundaries. Imperial County is one of the sites that has used this approach.

Imperial County, CA. The Imperial County Interagency Steering Committee formed a workgroup focused on budget issues and fiscal strategies. Leaders of county departments serving youth (such as the Office of Education, Mental Health, Probation, and Social Services) work together to set funding priorities, share resources, blend funds, and plan for sustainable financing. For example, the group decided to blend funds from Social Services and Probation to support probation officers working in school and community locations. The group is working with a systems improvement technical assistance consultant to develop long-range fiscal strategies.

The following sections briefly describe each of the program components and highlight selected research that suggests such efforts can foster desired results. Given the large number of programs implemented under these components across sites and the changes in those programs during the first 3 years of the initiative, it would be unwieldy to provide a complete listing of SafeFutures programming. Instead, brief descriptions of the type and range of programs implemented under each component are provided, along with selected examples from various sites. Due to the fluid nature of local efforts, these examples provide "snapshots" of programs in place at a particular time and may not accurately describe subsequent configurations.

Some programs provide services associated with multiple components, and there is no clear-cut way to classify these multifocused programs when using

them as examples. Whenever possible, examples have been placed under the component to which they appear most closely linked.

Pathways to Success is the SafeFutures afterschool program component that targets at-risk youth.

Afterschool Programs (Pathways to Success)

Pathways to Success is the SafeFutures afterschool program component that targets at-risk youth. It is designed to address behavioral problems and reduce the likelihood of juvenile delinquency by engaging youth in a variety of age-appropriate programs focused on vocational training, entrepreneurship, recreation, and arts education. Afterschool programs provide youth a safe place to spend free time and the opportunity to socialize with peers and adults. Programs are intended to provide lasting skills for youth and benefits for the community (e.g., through beautification programs involving youth volunteers). Activities are expected to occur during nonschool hours—after school, on weekends, or during the summer. A maximum of $40,000 per year in funding for this component is provided to each SafeFutures site under Title II, Part C of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (JJDP) Act of 1974, as amended.

A number of sources have cited the need for youth activities in positive, structured environments. An increase in the number of women working has led to greater numbers of unsupervised children before and after school (Lipsitz, 1984). A 1987 Harris poll of 1,000 teachers identified isolation and lack of supervision after school as a key source of adolescents' difficulties in school. Also, adolescents are most likely to commit or be the victims of a crime during the afterschool hours between 2:30 and 8:30 p.m. (Chaiken, 1997).

OJJDP has supported afterschool programming based on research demonstrating that the positive effects of participation in such programs for at-risk juveniles may be wide ranging.[8] For example, Fleisher and colleagues (1995) found significant academic and behavioral improvement for at-risk boys and girls enrolled in an afterschool judo program. A number of studies of Boys & Girls Club programs (including those coordinated with other programs) cite positive outcomes such as improved school performance and substantially reduced contact with the juvenile justice system, as reflected by lower rates of drug use and vandalism or reduced delinquency in areas where delinquency for comparison groups rose (Brown and Dodson, 1959; National Crime Prevention Council, 1985; Schinke, Orlandi, and Cole, 1992). Similarly, Jones and Offord (1989, in Howell, 1995), in a study conducted in a Canadian Public Housing Project, found that an intensive, long-term recreation program led to a 75-percent reduction in juvenile arrests for the experimental group, while the control group had a 67-percent increase in arrests. Finally, Wynn and colleagues (1988) found that participation in extracurricular activities as juveniles leads to participation in voluntary and political organizations as adults.

Most afterschool programs implemented under SafeFutures included two or more activities, most commonly recreation and tutoring/homework assistance, and included both structured activities and free time during which youth could choose from various options. Recreational activities and media commonly included organized sports, free play, books, videos, games (ranging from board games to interactive games), and arts and crafts. Academic services generally focused on homework assistance, although some programs provided more structured tutoring activities. The number and type of activities available on a given day often varied. For example, the Imperial County Boys & Girls Club provided a 6-week series of half-hour computer training sessions, offered on a signup basis, in addition to daily homework assistance. Seattle's Sister to Sister program provided weekly hands-on science and math activities and daily homework assistance.

Informal behavioral and/or values instruction was commonly built into afterschool programming, as were efforts to promote the development of juveniles' self-esteem. Teamwork, respect for others, drug and alcohol avoidance, and other prosocial objectives were often emphasized in conjunction with juveniles' participation in sports. Some sites stipulated behavioral expectations in their criteria for participation. In Fort Belknap, for example, these rules for participation were stated on the permission form signed by the youth and parent: respect others; do not use bad language; tell the truth; use people's correct names (to avoid gang-related monikers); avoid fighting or hitting; and do not carry weapons, spit, or litter. In Contra Costa County, students had to maintain average or above-average grades, stay current with homework assignments, and avoid disciplinary problems to continue participation. Thus, the programs served as incentives for positive academic and social behavior.

Afterschool programs are flexible and enable program coordinators to take advantage of various opportunities in their communities, such as accessing speakers on various topics, including conflict resolution, substance abuse, health, pregnancy avoidance, and other prevention education topics. Such presentations might be made on a one-time basis or as a series for a few weeks or months. In addition, most afterschool programs include periodic special events, such as field trips or outings, overnight trips, or holiday parties. Some, such as the programs in Fort Belknap and Imperial County, included occasional or ongoing community service activities, such as participating in community cleanup events or helping elderly residents with household chores. In various sites, such as Contra Costa County, flexibility across multiple afterschool programs is intended to enable coordinators of different programs to address the particular needs or interests of youth in their programs or to take advantage of unique opportunities in their settings.

Contra Costa County, CA. In Contra Costa County, resource specialists assigned to the three elementary, one middle, and two high schools receiving SafeFutures services are expected to develop afterschool (or during-school) programs to address needs or issues in those schools, such as

Teamwork, respect for others, drug and alcohol avoidance, and other prosocial objectives were often emphasized in conjunction with juveniles' participation in sports.

Considerable variation exists across sites in the agencies responsible for providing afterschool services.

truancy, violence on school campuses, and low academic performance. As a result, programming varies considerably across schools. One elementary school developed a Lions Club group to provide tutoring, group discussion/support, and recreation to fourth- and fifth-grade girls, while another combined African dance and tutoring in an afterschool program. The resource specialist at one high school initiated a group to facilitate communication among youth involved with different gangs. The group meets before school to prepare breakfast and discuss school and other experiences during the meal.

Afterschool programs generally are available from the afternoon through early evening, 3 to 5 days per week during the school year. Most operate on a drop-in basis, and daily attendance is not required. Half of the sites—Fort Belknap, Imperial County, and St. Louis—had year-round programs (although their summer activities may have varied from those provided during the school year, and some were of limited duration). In some cases, the agency or facility in which the SafeFutures afterschool program is located (e.g., the Boys & Girls Club in Boston) offers programs not associated with SafeFutures during the summer months. Such programs would be available to SafeFutures youth, however.

Considerable variation exists across sites in the agencies responsible for providing afterschool services. Variation is, in part, related to differences in the way service delivery is structured in the six sites. Half of the sites—Contra Costa County, Fort Belknap, and St. Louis—initially provided these services through what can be considered SafeFutures staff stationed in multiple locations in the target area (six schools in Contra Costa, three schools in St. Louis, and three recreation/community centers in Fort Belknap). St. Louis changed its structure for afterschool programs in year 3, as noted in the example below. In the other sites, services were provided primarily through subcontracts or other agreements with agencies that already operated afterschool programs (such as the Boys & Girls Clubs in Imperial County and Boston, and Girls, Inc., in Seattle) to which SafeFutures youth were added.

Following are two diverse examples of afterschool programming.

Fort Belknap, MT. In addition to recreational activities and homework assistance, Fort Belknap's afterschool programs emphasize cultural education activities taught by cultural consultants (often tribal elders). One of the three community center sites was particularly successful in establishing such a program during year 1, when 5 consultants taught a variety of Northern Plains American Indian dances to more than 80 youth in the Hays center. A dance troupe of these youth was formed and began making presentations throughout the State. A variety of cultural activities, such as dance, regalia making, beadwork, and drum groups, were established in other centers during year 2, although none lasted as long as the initial troupe. In addition to the arts aspect, these cultural activities impart values such as respect for elders and traditions and promote a drug- and alcohol-free lifestyle. Cultural activities also were selected as a focus to engage

adults and to ensure that tribal traditions do not die out. Parents/caregivers helped their children make the dance costumes/regalia, and many attended dance practices and performances. Staff used these opportunities to meet informally with parents to discuss their child's needs and progress and to encourage the adults to become involved with other SafeFutures activities. Partly because of the considerable turnover of coordinators at the community centers and in central SafeFutures administration, cultural programming has not been offered consistently across the community centers and has not generally been as successful in attracting and retaining youth as the original dance troupe.

In the third year of the initiative, one of the afterschool centers introduced a "Native Strut" program that included career and entrepreneurial concepts to promote self-confidence. The program centered on developing modeling and related skills: youth mounted and videotaped fashion shows featuring their own designs. Both males and females have participated, although activities initially targeted girls. Through the program, youth had the opportunity to develop skills in photography, sound engineering, cosmetology and hair styling, designing and sewing traditional clothing, and basic business.

St. Louis, MO. St. Louis initially provided afterschool programming through two sources. The three CEC's in which SafeFutures had a presence traditionally operated a variety of afterschool programs. SafeFutures funds enabled them to expand their offerings to some degree (e.g., by hiring instructors or purchasing equipment).

An existing afterschool program, Project Respond Educational Pilot Program (PREPP), operated by Project Respond, also received SafeFutures support. PREPP provided informal recreational activities, homework assistance, and structured programming. Structured activities varied over time and included a program, provided by staff of Girls, Inc., that focused on nutrition, food preparation, and hygiene. A key feature of PREPP was its counseling/therapeutic approach. Staff members with backgrounds in social work and sociology provided informal counseling, anger management training, and conflict resolution skills training on a one-on-one or group basis. Staff also made considerable effort to contact families and develop trust, for example, by making home visits and informally counseling parents.

The St. Louis management team and partner agencies regarded PREPP as a successful model, in part because it attracted and retained particularly high-risk youth or those already involved in gangs. As a result, in year 3, SafeFutures redirected some of its funds to develop a second therapeutic afterschool program modeled on PREPP. The new program replaced initial SafeFutures activities at one of the CEC's, and two staff who had provided CEC-based counseling were selected to develop the new program.

Staff used these opportunities to meet informally with parents to discuss their child's needs and progress and to encourage the adults to become involved with other SafeFutures activities.

Ironically, as the PREPP model was being replicated at the CEC and contemplated for other locations, Project Respond closed the original PREPP program.

Although most sites did not include all of the activities that OJJDP had identified as falling under the afterschool component, such activities as community service projects with a lasting community impact, vocational training, and entrepreneurship frequently were addressed either as short-term activities in the afterschool programs or under other components. In addition, most sites used their afterschool programming to address SafeFutures goals extending beyond those identified for this component. Many sites introduced or reinforced information, skills, and behavior related to issues such as substance abuse prevention, anger management, violence prevention, gang avoidance, health, pregnancy/parenting, and HIV/AIDS/STD's through discussion groups, workshops on specific topics, or presentations by guest speakers.

Developed using the Big Brothers Big Sisters of America approach as its model, JUMP is designed to foster an emotional bond and mutual commitment between a child and an adult mentor.

Juvenile Mentoring Programs

At-risk youth and youthful offenders often have limited contact with prosocial adult role models. Research shows that it is uncommon for these youth to have a significant relationship with even one unrelated adult (Steinberg, 1990). In recognition of such needs for positive adult role models, OJJDP initiated its Juvenile Mentoring Program (JUMP). Developed using the Big Brothers Big Sisters (BBBS) of America approach as its model, JUMP is designed to foster an emotional bond and mutual commitment between a child and an adult mentor (Hamilton, 1990).

JUMP is intended to match adult mentors (age 21 or older) who have successfully undergone a screening process with youth at risk of educational failure, dropping out, or involvement in delinquent activities. This program, which is to be provided in partnership with local education agencies (such as school districts), seeks to improve academic performance, reduce the dropout rate, discourage delinquent behavior and gang participation, promote personal and social responsibility, and encourage service and community activities. A maximum of $200,000 per year in funding for this component is provided to each SafeFutures site under Title II, Part G, of the JJDP Act of 1974, as amended.

Although recent research suggests that mentoring programs can be very effective in increasing protective factors for juveniles, there has been relatively little scientific evaluation of these initiatives to date. A recent Public/Private Ventures quasi-experimental evaluation found that BBBS mentoring participants self-reported that they were less likely than nonmentored youth (who were on a waiting list for a mentor) to engage in antisocial activities (initiating drug and alcohol use, hitting peers) and had improved academic performance (grades, competence, truancy), family relationships (trust, lying, index of parental relationship quality), and peer relationships (Tierney, Grossman, and Resch, 1995).

Benefits of Mentoring

- Mentors provide the guidance and support of positive role models in the context of one-on-one relationships.
- Mentoring has been recognized as an effective way to use volunteers to address poverty issues (Freedman, 1992) and thereby increase community involvement in collaborative efforts.

Most SafeFutures sites implemented more than one mentoring program.

Key aspects of the BBBS mentoring that are believed to contribute to the positive results include (1) a high level of contact between mentors and participating youth (averaging 12 in-person hours per month and possible additional telephone contact); (2) a perspective that identifies the mentor as a friend, not a "teacher or preacher"; (3) thorough volunteer screening to ensure highly committed adults as mentors; (4) mentor training focused on communication, limit setting, relationship building, and ways to effectively interact with youth; (5) procedures that respect the preferences of youth and their families and possibly use a professional case manager to arrange matches between volunteers and youth; and (6) intensive supervision and support of each match by a case manager who maintains frequent contact with all parties and can resolve difficulties as they arise (Grossman and Garry, 1997).

Most SafeFutures sites implemented more than one mentoring program. Some sites targeted mentoring to specific groups, such as at-risk girls or youth involved in the juvenile justice system. In some cases, mentoring also was funded under other SafeFutures components in addition to being supported by JUMP funds. With the exception of Fort Belknap, which uses SafeFutures program staff to administer its mentoring program, the demonstration sites originally implemented mentoring services by subcontracting with other local agencies. Three sites (Imperial County, Seattle, and St. Louis) used local affiliates of BBBS to provide some or all of their mentoring. (Imperial County later assigned oversight of the mentoring component to County Office of Education staff.) Boston, Contra Costa County, and Fort Belknap initiated new mentoring programs, and encountered startup issues that led to a variety of difficulties and delays.

Mentoring programs involve numerous details, including:

- Recruiting, screening (to ensure the safety of mentees), and retaining suitable adult volunteers.
- Training volunteers to meet program objectives and to handle difficult situations (e.g., youth or family problem behavior).
- Promoting the program to service providers, schools, parents, and others who can refer targeted youth to the program.

Most new mentoring programs developed their own structures and procedures, including recruiting, orientation, and training programs for mentors.

- Communicating program expectations and guidelines to parents and youth.
- Matching youth and adults and resolving unsatisfactory matches.
- Establishing routines for accountability and monitoring the success of mentor relationships.

Most new mentoring programs developed their own structures and procedures, including recruiting, orientation, and training programs for mentors. Many programs conducted periodic refresher trainings for mentors or held regular meetings at which mentors could discuss their experiences, receive advice, and participate in an informal support group. Boston sought to alleviate startup problems among its subcontractors—often small neighborhood-based organizations—by contracting with Greater Boston One to One (the local affiliate of a national organization that promotes mentoring) to train subcontractor staff to manage mentoring programs. This assistance, however, was not used as extensively as anticipated for a variety of reasons, including concerns about the flexibility or relevance of One to One's model across different communities and ethnic groups.

Because of the requirements of the JUMP funding, one-on-one mentoring is the primary focus of SafeFutures mentoring. Most mentoring programs provide guidelines or requirements for "minimum" frequency and, sometimes, length of meetings between mentors and mentees—most commonly requiring weekly or biweekly meetings for 1 to 2 hours. Many programs encourage telephone contact in addition to in-person meetings. Activities are generally determined by the mentoring pair and typically include homework assistance, sports or recreation activities, going out for a snack or meal, participating in cultural events (e.g., going to a museum or concert), or just spending time together.

Few mentoring programs provide services beyond mentoring. One exception is the St. Louis mentoring program.

> **St. Louis, MO.** The BBBS mentoring program in St. Louis provides a range of assistance to youth and families through its Community Connections program. Parents are asked to fill out a form identifying needs in a variety of basic areas (such as clothing, school supplies, toiletries, food, cleaning supplies, and furniture). Volunteers in the BBBS auxiliary division identify resources to fill these needs, make referrals, and are available to assist the family in negotiating the social service system, if needed (although families are also encouraged to act self-sufficiently to address their own needs).

Some programs supplemented one-on-one mentoring with group activities for youth or for youth and mentors. In some cases, particularly in programs operated by BBBS affiliates, group activities are primarily for youth who have not yet been matched with a mentor or youth whose mentors are still undergoing screening or training. Other mentor programs include periodic group activities for mentors and youth, such as community service events, field trips (including trips to attend sporting or theatrical events), recreational outings, and special

events, including those focused on cultural enrichment and understanding (such as Black History Month or Cinco de Mayo events) or holiday observation. Group activities were used as a forum for providing academic assistance in some programs, including those in Boston and Contra Costa.

Boston, MA. In the Mattapan-Dorchester Churches in Action (MDCA) mentoring program in Boston, youth met twice a week for 2 hours with program coordinators and volunteers for assistance with homework. Meetings were followed by a snack and group discussion. Some mentors attended these sessions and had their one-on-one meetings afterward, but group sessions were not intended to be directly linked to mentor meetings.

Contra Costa County, CA. The Mirror Images Nurturing Directions (M.I.N.D.) program for elementary school girls in Contra Costa initiated a monthly book club to help girls' reading and writing skills; mentors were not required to attend club meetings but could use them as one of their twice-monthly one-on-one contacts. The book club was discontinued after it became clear that the girls were uncomfortable reading aloud in front of the group because of their limited reading skills. Staff arranged to send girls to an existing tutoring program to improve their academic skills, and program administration is contemplating reintroduction of the book club.

Two sites—Contra Costa and Seattle—implemented mentoring programs for youth in or transitioning out of the juvenile justice system in addition to programs targeting other at-risk youth. Boston recently contracted with a provider to initiate mentoring services for youth returning to the community from Department of Youth Services (DYS) placement. Such programs can be viewed as systems reform efforts, in that they seek to address the community-based aftercare needs of youth transitioning out of juvenile detention facilities and, in some cases, link portions of the juvenile justice system with other entities in the community. The Contra Costa and Seattle programs are described below.

Contra Costa County, CA. Contra Costa's Volunteers in Probation (VIP) program (funded under the serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offender programs component) was initiated as a systems reform effort for the Probation Department. The department was viewed as an isolated agency that would benefit from outside involvement. Probation hired a coordinator (funded through SafeFutures) to recruit and train volunteers, who were initially to perform two roles. One role was to serve as mentors to youth on probation, providing individualized attention that probation officers cannot generally offer. The mentors also relieve probation officers (who have large caseloads) of some routine functions such as following up on appointments, making phone calls, monitoring youth, helping youth get into specified programs, and assisting with transportation. Approximately half of the volunteers serve as one-on-one mentors. Alternatively, volunteers may be assigned to assist a specific probation officer with office work. Later, two additional forms of volunteer activity were added: helping

Two sites implemented mentoring programs for youth in or transitioning out of the juvenile justice system.

Across sites, a wide variety of mentor recruiting mechanisms were used.

youth produce a Juvenile Hall (detention facility) newsletter and providing Internet mentoring (to youth in residential facilities). The program also sponsors group activities for youth and mentors, such as whale watching, hiking, and ferry rides. The VIP program is viewed as successful in "opening up" the probation department and serving youth, and it is taking steps to attain status as a nonprofit organization to enable it to continue after SafeFutures funds terminate.

Contra Costa County, CA. The Step Up and Lead mentoring program in Contra Costa focuses on 12- to 18-year-old girls who are on probation. This program was originally intended to serve girls transitioning out of detention. This focus, however, turned out to be impractical because many girls leaving the Hall are sent to group homes, which are often located outside of the county (target area), making the girls ineligible for SafeFutures services. In addition, most group homes in the county do not allow visits by mentors. To address these issues, the program's focus was changed to girls on probation in the county. Step Up and Lead is housed in a nonprofit agency that addresses foster care, but the mentoring program has its own director and assistant director, both of whom function somewhat as case managers for the girls. In addition to one-on-one mentoring, this program also holds periodic group activities for girls and mentors.

Seattle, WA. Seattle's Juvenile Rehabilitation Administration (JRA) mentoring program's target population is serious offenders sentenced under the Washington State Code, who are about to be released from correctional institutions. JRA is the State juvenile system that oversees youth detained for more than 30 days and provides juvenile parole services for those returning to the community from State facilities. JRA received SafeFutures funding to initiate and operate a program that matches JRA youth with mentors. One-on-one meetings (at least once a month) between JRA youth and their mentors begin 6 to 8 months prior to a youth's release. Mentors serve as a stable presence in the youth's lives, facilitating their transition to the community (e.g., by helping link them to housing and employment resources or helping them navigate reentry into the school system). Another key feature of the program is the intensive training and technical assistance support provided to the volunteer mentors. This program gained State recognition and was funded for replication in other parts of Washington.

Across sites, a wide variety of mentor recruiting mechanisms were used, including personal contact, newspaper or radio advertising, and presentations to corporations or other groups (e.g., churches or professional organizations). Different programs found that different methods worked for them; no one approach seemed to be successful across all sites.

Most sites encountered challenges in recruiting mentors, both in newly established mentoring programs and in existing programs. In the latter, the increase

in the number of youth to be served through SafeFutures created a need for more mentors than could be recruited in a relatively short time period, resulting in delays before one-on-one mentoring could start. Most programs sought to avoid potential concerns about cultural incompatibility by matching youth and

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Enhancing Mentor Recruitment in St. Louis

To address recruiting difficulties, St. Louis Big Brothers Big Sisters (BBBS) introduced two mentoring programs structured unlike the traditional BBBS model.

- **The "teammates" program** allows two mentors to share mentoring of the same child. Each mentor meets with the youth a minimum of once per month, and a monthly group activity involves one or both of the mentors. Thus, the youth has at least three mentor contacts per month (two of which are one-on-one).
- **"Sports buddies"** is modeled after a BBBS program initiated on the west coast. Affinity for sports is used to attract male volunteers interested in going to sporting events or otherwise sharing their interest in sports with youth. This program requires a 6-month commitment from the mentor (instead of the usual 12 months) and involves a one-on-one mentoring activity once a month, in addition to a monthly group activity.

Program staff expect that once volunteers begin mentoring under these more limited approaches, they will be "hooked" and will continue to serve as mentors, perhaps increasing their commitment to the traditional mentoring model. BBBS also made efforts to enhance recruitment by facilitating employment-based mentoring, for example, by offering to transport youth to the mentors' downtown workplaces. This transportation eliminates mentor travel time and concerns about meeting youth in potentially unsafe locations.

BBBS also made modifications to its usual recruiting procedures. It established an "African American Ambassadors' Council" early in the initiative under which business and community leaders lend their names to recruiting efforts and participate in limited activities geared collectively toward recruiting 500 African American mentors, both male and female. In year 2, BBBS hired a director of community relations (whose function is volunteer recruitment) and a vice president of marketing and communication. Although these positions are not funded through SafeFutures, recruiting for SafeFutures is their priority. St. Louis BBBS's new recruiting practices and mentor structures and increased focus on minority and low-income youth are regarded as systems change within that organization.

Cultural considerations affected recruiting in several programs.

mentors by gender and ethnicity whenever possible. Most programs sought mentors willing to work with youth who had more problems than the youth typically served by their organizations or encountered by most middle-class volunteers (typically the mainstay of many mentoring programs). St. Louis provides an example of an established mentoring program (operated by BBBS) that experienced difficulties in recruiting sufficient additional mentors, particularly African American and male mentors.

Cultural considerations affected recruiting in several programs, including those in Boston, Fort Belknap, and Seattle, and also may affect parental or youth acceptance of mentoring.

Boston, MA. One Boston faith-based mentoring program operated by Mattapan-Dorchester Churches in Action found that increasing numbers of parents were uneasy about allowing their children to be alone with strangers or to be mentored by persons of a faith different from their own. As a result, parents were not allowing their children to meet with mentors one-on-one. MDCA responded by including parents in their weekly meetings of mentors and mentees, thereby enabling them to meet the mentors and see their interaction with the children. Although not its intended purpose, such an approach may increase parental involvement in youth activities and contribute to family strengthening.

Fort Belknap, MT. Cultural issues also were encountered in Fort Belknap. Gros Ventre and Assiniboine adults traditionally function as informal mentors to children, particularly to nieces and nephews. However, formal one-on-one mentoring was not a familiar concept to parents or potential mentors. SafeFutures addressed this issue by initiating a group "cultural mentoring" approach under which mentors work with four or five youth at a time, in addition to providing one-on-one mentoring. Mentors meet with youth in conjunction with ongoing cultural education activities (such as doing bead work or making dance regalia in the afterschool programs) or one-time events, such as field trips. In one SafeFutures site, several women who are "pipe carriers" or are involved in traditional tribal societies (in effect, function as tribal elders) participated in this form of mentoring. Cultural mentoring also is used on a one-on-one basis. Male tribal leaders from the White Clay society each mentored a youth who was having behavioral problems in school. The men took their mentees on a "first hunt," traditionally regarded as a sign of adulthood in terms of demonstrating responsibility by providing for one's family and tribe. The adults served as strong male role models, conveying tribal beliefs and traditions as part of the hunt that also became a source of pride for the participating youth.

Seattle, WA. Seattle's initiative targeted primarily Asian American youth, with an emphasis on immigrant and refugee communities. However, recruiting mentors from these communities was difficult because the concept of one-on-one mentoring is not part of the native culture for the Asian

groups with which the program worked. In addition, adults in these immigrant communities often work long hours at low-wage jobs to support their families, leaving little time available for volunteer activities. There were also concerns that providing such youth with a mentor might increase existing gaps between youth and their parents because youth typically acculturate more quickly than their parents. SafeFutures staff considered different approaches to address these cultural issues, such as introducing mentoring in an incremental fashion, perhaps by starting with tutoring and then expanding to mentoring after a comfortable relationship has been established.

Family Strengthening and Support Services

Family strengthening and support programs focus on addressing gaps in the community's continuum of family-focused services. Specifically, this component is intended to support planning and programming that facilitate positive family interactions and support families in crisis (especially those with children involved in the juvenile justice system). Such efforts may include the establishment of an intensive family case management system that is integrated with family-oriented programs and other SafeFutures components, the introduction of gap-filling family services, or the development of a resource guide of existing programs that provide family strengthening and support services. For this component, a maximum of $200,000 per year in funding is provided to each SafeFutures site under Title II, Part C, of the JJDP Act of 1974, as amended.

Although there is often debate about the relative importance of specific factors in youth development, the literature leaves little doubt that family life plays a critical role in social functioning. Damon (1988), for example, underscored the importance of parents' role in the moral development of children. Smith and Paternoster (1987), Paternoster and Triplett (1988), and Arbuthnot, Gordon, and Jurkovic (1987) note that empathy, altruism, and compassion are key protective factors in preventing delinquency and that the inability to see others' perspectives and a resulting lack of empathy is a key risk factor. Hawkins et al. (1988) found that parenting practices were directly related to adolescent drug use. In addition, all of the following have been demonstrated to have significant associations (either positive or negative) with delinquency: parental supervision, parental rejection, and parent-child involvement (Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber, 1986); parental monitoring, discipline, and positive parenting techniques (including consistent application of discipline and democratic decision-making) (Snyder and Patterson, 1987); antisocial behavior of parents (Slavin and Rainer, 1990; Henggeler, 1989; Goodwin, 1985; Bohman, 1978); and physical and emotional abuse (Doerner, 1987).

The family strengthening component is intended to support planning and programming that facilitate positive family interactions and support families in crisis.

Parental monitoring of children is a key component of positive parenting, both as a predictor of delinquency and as a protective measure.

Many researchers have found relationships between delinquency and parental supervision (Campbell, 1987; Cernkovich and Giordano, 1987; Wells and Rankin, 1986). Parental monitoring of children is a key component of positive parenting, both as a predictor of delinquency (Fischer, 1984; Wilson, 1987; McCord, 1979) and as a protective measure (Snyder and Patterson, 1987). Higher levels of monitoring are associated with lower rates of sexual activity, drug and alcohol use (Small, 1990), truancy, running away, and delinquency (Dornbusch et al., 1985). Steinberg (1990) found that 10- to 16-year-olds whose parents could not account for their children's whereabouts were more susceptible to peer pressure.

Family dysfunction is an equally important predictor of delinquency. The delinquency that results from dysfunctional family functioning often begins a vicious cycle in which a youth's delinquent behavior leads to negative parental reactions, thus exacerbating the child's misbehavior (Patterson, 1982) and introducing a cycle that is both cause and effect (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 1995). Hirschi's (1969) social control theory posits that a lack of attachment to societal norms, especially those developed through the parent-child relationship, breaks the bond with society and leaves individuals free to be criminal. Parental rejection of a child has been cited as one of the strongest predictors of delinquency (McCord, 1983; Pfouts, Scholper, and Henley, 1981; Loeber and Dishion, 1984; Kroupa, 1988; Nye, 1958). Similarly, physical maltreatment of children is significantly related to delinquency (Thornberry, 1994).

Effective family functioning that includes clear expectations for behavior and monitoring and enforcement of those standards presumably provides protective factors in developing a child's notions of social responsibility (Baumrind, 1967, 1971). For example, in a survey of 10,000 high school seniors, Steinberg (1990) found that (1) adolescents who rated their parents as firm, democratic, and accepting were more self-reliant, reported less anxiety and depression, and had a lower risk of delinquent behavior and (2) ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and family structure had no moderating effects. Poor discipline, defined as discipline that is both excessive and inconsistent, is often identified as a significant indicator of future antisocial, self-destructive, and criminal behavior (Peterson et al., 1994; Thornberry, 1994; McCord, 1988; Widom, 1989; Elder, Caspi, and Downey, 1983; Huesmann et al., 1984; Yesavage and Widrow, 1985).

This section describes programs or services specifically identified by sites as falling under the family strengthening and support component and also family strengthening services provided under other components. In most SafeFutures communities, family strengthening services were offered as part of programs providing youth services funded though other SafeFutures components, such as the delinquency prevention program or services for at-risk and delinquent girls components. The Family-School-Community (FSC) program in Contra Costa County and the Family Resource Centers (FRC's) in Imperial County and St. Louis are examples of such arrangements. Although those programs, and others,

made efforts to engage and provide services to parents, their primary focus for the most part was youth services. Family strengthening generally represented a relatively small share of the services provided in multiservice programs.

Case management/referrals and counseling (often provided more or less concurrently) were the most common SafeFutures family strengthening activities. Case management and counseling for parents or siblings were typically provided in conjunction with similar services for SafeFutures youth. Case management and counseling appeared relatively informal in some programs, and some used paraprofessional staff who lacked training to provide counseling of a more clinical nature. However, these staff often had access to clinically trained staff, either to advise them or to work with parents or youth with more serious problems. Parenting skills classes or workshops were provided through SafeFutures in some sites.

> **Imperial County, CA.** Imperial County's Probation Department has a long-standing parenting skills program focused on changing destructive adolescent behavior. Two members of the SafeFutures law enforcement team (described in a later section) were trained as class facilitators, enabling provision of additional classes and expansion to target area communities not previously served. A support group for troubled teens has been developed to complement the parenting skills classes.

The programs providing family strengthening services along with a range of youth services in Contra Costa County, Imperial County, and St. Louis can be viewed as examples of systems reform and interagency collaboration. All three involved establishing school-based programs to deliver services to youth and family members at one or more sites. This approach requires bringing nonschool staff into schools to provide youth and families with services not typically offered by schools. Service delivery staff may be SafeFutures staff, as in Contra Costa, or may include staff from a variety of social service agencies who are assigned to the school site (on a part- or full-time basis), as in Imperial County. The schools provide space and, sometimes, other resources to support these programs. School staff and the staff of these "centers" develop working relationships that transcend their usual professional boundaries. School staff may play a role in shaping the services or programmatic offerings of the centers. The main source of youth referrals—primarily youth who exhibit behavioral or academic problems in school—is typically school staff. The following examples briefly describe the different school-based configurations and the family strengthening aspects of their programs.

> **Contra Costa County, CA.** School-based resource specialists (paraprofessionals) in Contra Costa provide case management and informal counseling to parents and youth, in addition to providing afterschool and in-school activities for youth. Specialists conduct home visits to provide support and assistance (which may be crisis support in some cases), particularly when there are difficulties. Some specialists help parents by providing transportation to appointments at school, court, service agencies,

Case management/ referrals and counseling were the most common SafeFutures family strengthening activities.

Seattle incorporated family strengthening into a variety of its programs.

and other locations. Specialists in two elementary schools initiated or enhanced "parent rooms" that serve as drop-in centers where parents can interact with teachers and other school staff, thus strengthening parent-school bonds. Youth or parents with more serious problems are referred to the counselor of the agency that employs the specialists.

Imperial County, CA. Imperial County SafeFutures established an FRC in Brawley High School to function as a "one-stop shop" for services, with collocated staff from a variety of agencies. Youth or families referred to three or more services are placed on the FRC's case management caseload, although others may receive referrals to services or receive services provided by the FRC. Parents of all youth referred to the FRC are routinely involved in initial intake interviews for their children (even for those not on the case management caseload) and are referred to other services as needed. Two FRC staff provide services that can be viewed as primarily focused on parents/family strengthening: a repositioned social service eligibility worker helps parents access various services and an FRC guidance technician advises parents about school procedures related to expulsion and reinstatement. Mental health and substance abuse counselors also have been assigned to the FRC to provide counseling for those who need it.

St. Louis, MO. St. Louis initially established FRC's in three school sites, staffed by teams composed of a family therapist and a community outreach worker (the latter are certified parent educators). The teams provided case management, individual counseling, and family counseling and worked with parents on an individual or small group basis to provide parenting skills education and support. The FRC's, which are no longer operational, were intended to address the specific needs of the Community Education Centers in which they were located; thus some provided other services targeted to parents or participated in family strengthening services offered through their CEC. For example, one CEC held a monthly "family night" activity for parents and their children. These get-togethers emphasized literacy and language skills and typically included an activity parents and children performed together to reinforce the literacy message and promote bonding.

Seattle incorporated family strengthening into a variety of its programs. This action also enabled provision of culturally appropriate services.

Seattle, WA. The Asian/Pacific Islander Diversion and Family Support Program, an alternative dispositional program for first-time nonserious juvenile offenders, provides services for families and youth. A counselor serves as interpreter and advocate for parents in the court process. SafeFutures began funding this program in year 2 to support activities such as reaching out to families prior to the initial hearing (including visiting families in their homes), informing youth and families about what to expect during the upcoming proceedings, linking families to needed services in their own

community, providing quarterly community education classes on the American juvenile justice system and available services, and networking with the community to increase culturally sensitive services.

Seattle, WA. Seattle's Cambodian Girls Group (CGG), renamed Help Each Other Reach the Sky (HERS) in year 3, incorporates a number of parent support services in conjunction with its at-risk and delinquent girls programming. Parents are required to participate in the CGG parenting class in order for girls to participate in the at-risk and delinquent girls/job training program. Girls receive stipends for these jobs, but their stipends are reduced if parents do not participate in all sessions. The parenting classes are cofacilitated by an English-speaking teacher and a Cambodian counselor. They address parenting skills and skills to help the immigrant/refugee parents function in their new environment, such as opening a bank account to save for their children's college education, understanding police and court procedures, reading a report card, and interacting with school staff. The classes also are intended to create a support structure for parents. CGG staff have adopted culturally appropriate teaching styles (e.g., use of proverbs and drama, which are traditional teaching/learning methods for this population, but not role-playing, which is considered embarrassing) to reach this audience. CGG also arranges for counseling services for parents, including crisis intervention, mental health services to parents with posttraumatic stress or other mental health needs, and family therapy sessions with parents and their daughters. Home visits are conducted by a Cambodian case manager and a Caucasian therapist. These visits enable followup regarding issues raised in the parenting classes and therapy sessions.

Relatively few family strengthening services emphasized services to siblings, although in many cases siblings might be enrolled in SafeFutures programs targeted directly to them or referred to other youth programs. Seattle's Sibling Support Program, discussed in the section "Mental Health Services for At-Risk and Adjudicated Youth," page 32, is an exception.

Participants in family strengthening services generally are identified through a combination of self-referral and referral from other sources, including staff in the same program or other SafeFutures programs or, sometimes, the juvenile court. Several programs, including the FRC's in St. Louis and Imperial County and the FSC programs in Contra Costa, actively conduct outreach activities in the community and otherwise publicize the services available. Many family strengthening programs focus on populations that can be viewed as particularly high risk. For example, referrals to the parenting skills classes in Imperial County historically came from juvenile justice agencies. Court referrals also were common for Fort Belknap's Positive Indian Parenting classes. Seattle's Cambodian Girls Group and the SafeFutures Youth Center served immigrant/refugee families (the latter focused on gang-involved youth), while the Asian/

Many family strengthening programs focus on populations that can be viewed as particularly high risk.

In general, studies to date have shown that a significant portion of incarcerated youth are suffering from some form of mental health disorder.

Pacific Islander Diversion program and Sisters in Common served families of girls involved in the juvenile justice system. Sisters in Common provides case management for girls involved in the juvenile justice system and family strengthening services and case management for their parents.

Mental Health Services for At-Risk and Adjudicated Youth

The Mental Health Services for At-Risk and Adjudicated Youth component is intended to improve the accessibility, quality, and efficiency of mental health services in communities and in juvenile facilities, with a particular focus on juvenile sex offenders. Mobile mental health units are an example of the type of enhanced services envisioned by OJJDP, although none of the demonstration sites have implemented such an approach to date. Other elements of this component include providing consultation and liaison services to law enforcement and justice system personnel who work with at-risk and delinquent juveniles, developing forensic case management systems for incarcerated mentally disordered youth, and providing training programs for mental health professionals who provide services to detained or confined juveniles and juvenile sex offenders. Services developed under this component are intended to include family participation and to be sensitive to ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Funding for this component is provided at a maximum of $150,000 per year to each SafeFutures site under Title II, Part C, of the JJDP Act of 1974, as amended.

Mental health problems in adolescents are reportedly widespread, with as many as 5 percent of adolescents suffering from serious emotional disturbances (Center for Mental Health Services, 1997). Although the link between mental health disorders and juvenile delinquency has not yet been firmly established, it has been shown that mental health disorders and delinquency co-occur (Elliott, Huizinga, and Menard, 1989). In general, studies to date have shown that a significant portion of incarcerated youth are suffering from some form of mental health disorder (Fagan, 1991; Hollender and Turner, 1985; McManus et al., 1984). Although the disorders experienced by the juvenile offender population are less severe than those of hospitalized youth, juvenile offenders nevertheless display a significantly higher prevalence of mental health disorders than the general youth population (Pumariega et al., 1995). Breda (1995, p. 210), for example, found that among youth with serious delinquency problems, more than 80 percent had "clinically significant psychopathology." In addition, the study found that although there was only a moderate link between mental health disorders and delinquency, delinquent youth tended to have multiple mental health problems.

Juvenile sex offenders are responsible for a significant portion of sexual assaults, including an estimated 20 percent of rapes and 30 to 60 percent of child molestation cases (Brown, Flanagan, and McLeod, 1984). The number of juveniles arrested for sex offenses is growing steadily (Snyder and

Sickmund, 1995). Furthermore, there is an established link between juvenile sex offending and adult sex offending: about half of adult sex offenders began offending as juveniles (Barbaree, Hudson, and Seto, in Barbaree, Marshall, and Hudson, 1993). Although the literature is sparse in this area, it does appear that cognitive-behavioral models used to treat adult sex offenders can be adapted to treat juvenile offenders. Some data suggest that effective therapies include reducing age-inappropriate sexual interests, improving sexual impulse control, enhancing social and assertiveness skills, cognitive restructuring, sex education, and relapse prevention (Becker and Kaplan, in Barbaree, Marshall, and Hudson, 1993). However, basic work remains to be done in this field. For instance, the Office of Justice Programs is currently working toward the development of a juvenile sex offender typology that would distinguish among juvenile sex offenders based on such factors as victim selection, level of aggression, and modus operandi. Such a typology could be used to assist judges and other court personnel in making appropriate disposition and placement decisions.

In recent years, Multisystemic Therapy (MST) has attracted considerable attention as a viable approach to treating serious juvenile offenders and adolescent sexual offenders and their families (Henggeler et al., 1996; Sutphen, Thyer, and Kurtz, 1995). MST uses a family preservation model of service delivery to empower youth and families by supporting the development of resources and skills needed to deal with difficulties effectively. Treatment plans are developed in concert with the family and are designed to intervene within families and between family members, peers, and other central social relationships. Services are delivered in real-world settings (e.g., at home, in school).

Treatment plans are developed in concert with the family and are designed to intervene within families and between family members, peers, and other central social relationships.

Because of the complexity of developing mental health programs or services, there was a long lead time for implementation of this component in most sites. Only three sites provided direct mental health services as part of SafeFutures during year 1, although others engaged in planning efforts to devise strategic responses. The configuration of services provided under this component varies considerably across sites. Some (such as Contra Costa County and Fort Belknap) established new residential facilities for mental health services; others (such as Seattle and Imperial County) included mental health counseling as part of the menu of services offered by multifaceted programs.

Most sites focused their efforts on youth in the juvenile justice system, as illustrated by the following examples, which also reflect varying degrees of collaborative effort and/or systems reform.

Contra Costa County, CA. Contra Costa opened its Summit Center, which represents a collaborative effort, with funds or staff provided by SafeFutures, the County Probation Department, and the County Office of Education and California mental health funds matched by MediCal funds.[9] Program staff (e.g., probation counselors and therapists) function as an integrated team, not in separate departments, and have been cross-trained.

Youth participate in individual, group, and family therapy, based on individual treatment plans.

Youth are identified for participation by the Summit Center's director, who serves as a member of the Probation Department Screening Committee that meets weekly to review cases of youth recommended for placement other than custody (e.g., to group homes, residential facilities, etc.). Most youth in the Center have had treatment failures in prior residential placements; all have some kind of current or prior juvenile offense history.

The program serves 12- to 18-year-old males and can house 20 youth at a time. Youth in the Center are not in custody but are under general probation orders. Participation is voluntary; the youth and a parent or responsible adult must agree to participate in the program. Parental/adult involvement is required because family therapy is an integral part of the treatment; there are also multifamily groups led by a therapist and two parent support groups.

Youth participate in individual, group, and family therapy, based on individual treatment plans. They attend school at the Center (in a class taught by a County Office of Education teacher and teacher's aide), with individualized study plans to address their varying academic needs and status. The Center operates substance abuse groups (youth also may attend Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) and Narcotics Anonymous (NA) meetings outside the Center) and groups addressing topics such as conflict resolution, anger management, and life skills. The program operates on a "level" system, with youth earning additional privileges as they move through four progressive levels of behavior and responsibility. Successfully completing (graduating from) the program takes approximately 6 months.

An aftercare component lasting approximately 1 year provides "wraparound" services using a model similar to multisystemic treatment. The approach emphasizes the use of family, system, and community resources (e.g., mental health or substance abuse resources). Wraparound teams are formed shortly after youth enter the Summit Center. Youth and families identify team members, which may include individuals such as parent(s), sibling(s), other relatives, a neighbor, a member of the youth's church, the youth's probation officer, and "outside" professionals, such as clinicians. The team is intended to help the family address issues/needs to assist in the youth's transition back to the community. The Summit Center case manager assigned to the team serves as its facilitator while the youth is in the Center and for up to 1 year after Summit Center completion, although the team itself is intended to continue after that. The team meets biweekly or monthly while the youth is in the Center; after the youth graduates, team meetings are generally held once per month in the youth's home or a community location.

Partly because of the perceived success and positive publicity associated with the Center, the county has developed a comparable facility for girls (modeled after the Summit Center), which became operational in late 1999. It serves 20 residential and 15 day-treatment clients.

St. Louis, MO. St. Louis SafeFutures provided support to the city's Mental Health Board (MHB) to plan for this component.[10] During the first 2 years of the initiative, MHB played a leading role in conducting a children's mental health needs assessment, developing a strategic plan, and finding resources to initiate change. Systems change was perceived to have occurred even at this stage, in that the State mental health agency and the juvenile justice agencies had begun "talking to each other," while in the past they had not had positive interaction. Funding for implementation of the plan is being provided by the Department of Mental Health, MHB, and SafeFutures, also illustrating collaboration.

The mental health services being implemented in year 3 focus on youth in the juvenile justice system. Two new programs are being funded: Child Conduct Programs and Multisystemic Therapy. The Child Conduct Programs target 7- to 11-year-olds who are starting to become out of control and their parents. The program focuses on effective parenting skills to avert delinquency. Services may include medication, assistance to parents in finding appropriate youth placement, special education, and other resources. The MST program uses a team of practitioners, home-based treatment, and family involvement to treat older youth. SafeFutures funds will support the service coordinator and the screening of SafeFutures youth and will likely assist staff training.

The MST program uses a team of practitioners, home-based treatment, and family involvement to treat older youth.

Youth receive an informal disposition (suspended interventions) pending participation in the program. Trained court intake staff, working with a mental health practitioner, use the Child/Adolescent Functional Assessment Scale (CAFAS) to determine individual risk levels. When CAFAS scoring indicates moderate or severe levels of impairment in a variety of domains (home, school, peer relations, substance abuse, thinking), youth are given a more comprehensive assessment. If mental health disorders are not substantiated, youth return to the court; otherwise, a treatment plan is devised. Services provided by the Department of Mental Health include psychological consultation, medication, and placement in a group home.

Seattle, WA. Seattle's Sibling Support Program (SSP) focuses on youth in the juvenile justice system and their families.[11] SSP, which is a continuation of a project piloted by King County's Department of Youth Services, represents a collaboration between SafeFutures, DYS, and the SSP provider (the Atlantic Street Center, a community-based nonprofit organization). SSP provides counseling and family therapy services to girls in the juvenile justice system, their siblings, and their parents. Key objectives include reducing recidivism and the likelihood that siblings will be offenders. Participation is voluntary; referrals typically come from probation officers, members of the Seattle Team for Youth, and judges. A credentialed therapist initiates the process by screening the parents and explaining the program's requirements. A team (including some combination of probation officer, case manager, Child Protective Services professional, school

This program promotes prosocial activities that can be offered in any setting, including school.

officials, and relatives) is then assembled to monitor the offending youth's and siblings' progress and make treatment recommendations. Although there is no set course of treatment, the typical case progression appears to include making and keeping regular appointments, getting the child back into school or ensuring that the child remains in school, and getting the child and parent to acknowledge substance abuse problems and participate in therapy. Treatment for youth offenders may also include participation in other programs or in individual or group therapy.

Delinquency Prevention Programs

The Delinquency Prevention Program encompasses a range of activities and services for at-risk youth and juveniles who have had contact with the juvenile justice system. This program promotes prosocial activities that can be offered in any setting, including school. Suggested activities include tutoring and remedial education, work awareness or employability skills, health and mental health services, alcohol and substance abuse prevention, leadership development, or recreational services. This component is intended to encourage positive approaches to delinquency prevention that emphasize healthy social, physical, and mental development. Funding for this component is provided for a maximum of $200,000 per year to each SafeFutures site under Title V of the JJDP Act of 1974, as amended. Although not required by OJJDP, many demonstration communities included case management and counseling among the activities provided by delinquency prevention programs.

In addition to offering enrichment activities and other opportunities (e.g., jobs) for youth to engage in socially approved networks, much of the focus of this component is on strategies that involve prevention education or social skills development to promote positive changes in juveniles' behavior. These activities are consistent with theoretical models that suggest individuals perform antisocially because they lack the necessary skills for prosocial behavior or because they have limited opportunities and have weak commitment to conformity (Leiber and Mahworr, 1995; Hirschi, 1969; Cloward and Ohlin, 1960). Several approaches consistent with delinquency prevention have been described under various SafeFutures components, such as afterschool programs or services for at-risk and delinquent girls; others are noted below.

Prevention education (focused on mitigating substance abuse, gang involvement, or violence, for example) is intended to provide youth with factual information and the skills to identify and resist risky situations. In general, substance abuse prevention education approaches that include training in resistance skills (i.e., skills for effectively resisting social pressure) and broader based life skills have been found effective, while approaches that emphasize just information dissemination, fear, appeals to morality, or self-esteem and interpersonal growth are largely ineffective (Sherman et al., 1997). Some gang and violence prevention programs teach interpersonal skills and incorporate cognitive-behavioral

strategies that appear promising in achieving prevention objectives; however, more rigorous evaluation is needed to isolate critical elements correlated with success.

Skills development may include academic instruction, vocational education, or social skills training designed to facilitate positive peer interaction, anger management, or a prosocial work ethic. Comprehensive instructional programs that are delivered over long timeframes designed to reinforce social skills have been found to reduce delinquency if they focus on developing a range of competency skills, including self-control, stress management, responsible decisionmaking, techniques for effective problem solving, and enhanced communication (Sherman et al., 1997). However, programs that focus on improving employability skills and job placement have generally not been successful in reducing delinquency, with the possible exception of the residential Job Corps approach (Sherman et al., 1997).

Most sites provided delinquency prevention programming through agencies used to provide other SafeFutures components. In some cases, it is difficult to separate delinquency prevention programs/activities from those associated with other SafeFutures components. For example, the Imperial County Law Enforcement Team, created for SafeFutures, fits under the gang-free schools and communities component and the delinquency prevention program component, as does Seattle's SafeFutures Youth Center (these programs are discussed in the section "Comprehensive Communitywide Approaches to Gang-Free Schools and Communities," page 39).

Most sites provided delinquency prevention programming through agencies used to provide other SafeFutures components.

Imperial County and Fort Belknap developed innovative programs (which also incorporated elements of systems reform) that were supported through both the delinquency prevention program and serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offender program components. These programs involved graduated sanctions, a key element under SVCJO, but the sites believed these initiatives primarily addressed delinquency prevention because they served first-time or minor offenders, with the intent of preventing further or more serious delinquency. In addition, both programs served some youth who were not involved in the justice system.

Imperial County, CA. Imperial County established a peer court as a graduated sanctions option (part of the county's Court Alternative Program) for first-time minor offenders, who participate on a voluntary basis (after admitting responsibility). Court sessions are held once per month during the school year, and four or more cases are heard per session. A juvenile court judge or referee presides over the court, with students serving as jurors, attorneys, and other court staff. Peers determine dispositions, which usually include requiring the offender to serve as a juror in future peer court sessions, in addition to sanctions such as community service (e.g., graffiti removal) and essays or letters of apology.

Several communities offered multiple delinquency prevention activities, including case management and counseling, in the context of one program.

The peer court operates as a student club at Brawley Union High School (where it originated). The club has weekly meetings to prepare for hearings; volunteer attorneys and other court staff (e.g., bailiffs) assist the students who will take their roles in court. Club members (some of whom hope to pursue law careers) rotate the various roles (e.g., clerk, bailiff, juror, attorneys). Students participating in the club receive credit toward the school's mandatory community service requirement. The court serves as a mechanism to involve/familiarize youth with the juvenile justice system and teaches participants about accountability—which contributes to the delinquency prevention aspect of the program. The peer court also can be viewed as developing job-related or leadership skills in youth.

Imperial County officials perceive the peer court as successful, and during year 3, it expanded to two additional target area communities (Calipatria and Niland). A previously existing peer mediation class in a Westmoreland school (a fourth target area) also has begun sending students to participate in the court. Activities preparatory to hearings are conducted at each site, but youth are bused to Brawley for court procedures. Staff report that mixing youth from all the schools in this forum has encouraged positive competition. The peer court is an example of systems reform: it added a new form of graduated sanction to the juvenile justice system, and it involves collaboration between various segments of the juvenile justice and school systems.

Fort Belknap, MT. The Tribal Ranch program in Fort Belknap was originally intended to provide job, entrepreneurial, and life skills to at-risk youth through work experience at the Tribal Ranch. At the request of court staff, it was refocused to serve as a graduated sanction program for youth on probation who are sentenced to community service (generally first offenders). It also serves nonoffender youth who participate on a voluntary basis. Youth receive instruction in, and perform, a variety of ranch chores (a major form of employment/business in this rural setting) and receive informal counseling from SafeFutures staff who operate the program.

Several communities offered multiple delinquency prevention activities, including case management and counseling, in the context of one program. This occurred in the three sites using school-based service delivery (Contra Costa County, Imperial County, and St. Louis). These programs provided a variety of activities, such as tutoring/academic assistance, life/leadership skills training, anger management or mediation skills training, recreation, and support groups of various kinds. Some of their activities were provided as afterschool programs. These programs were intended to address the needs of youth and the schools in which the programs were located. Thus, the nature of these programs varied across schools and also varied over time within a school.

Some programs focused on developing leadership skills as an alternative to delinquency.

Boston, MA. Boston uses peer leadership in some of its delinquency prevention programming. In one such program, SafeFutures provides funds to train and provide stipends for peer leaders who are assigned to three community centers located in public housing facilities. Although activities vary at each center, the peer leaders perform functions such as helping youth with homework, facilitating workshops, leading "rap sessions," identifying youth issues, coordinating field trips, and so on. Another peer leadership effort, the Youth Advisory Board (YAB), is used as a mechanism for obtaining youth input to SafeFutures decisionmaking and as a leadership development program. The latter function is intended to encourage youth to serve as peer trainers, public speakers, and ambassadors for youth in the community and to provide informal employment readiness and life skills training. Although YAB was operational during the first year of the initiative, the administering agency was changed in years 2 and 3, and the program has experienced difficulty in retaining active membership in YAB.

As noted previously, delinquency prevention activities were often included in programs supported by other components; some of these are discussed in following sections.

Comprehensive Communitywide Approaches to Gang-Free Schools and Communities

The comprehensive communitywide approaches to gang-free schools and communities component provides support for communities to follow the OJJDP Comprehensive Gang Model for reducing community youth gang problems. The evidence of the impact of gang membership on serious crime is widely supported (see, for example, Thornberry, 1994; Esbensen and Huizinga, 1993; Klein, 1995). OJJDP's Comprehensive Gang Model, or the Spergel model, calls for the implementation of five strategies for dealing with gang-involved youth in communities implementing the model. These strategies include (1) mobilizing community leaders and residents to plan, strengthen, or create new opportunities or establish linkages to existing organizations for gang-involved youth; (2) using outreach workers to engage gang-involved youth; (3) providing and facilitating access to academic, economic, and social opportunities; (4) conducting gang suppression activities and holding gang-involved youth accountable for their behavior; and (5) facilitating organizational change and development to help community agencies better address gang problems through a team problem-solving approach that is consistent with the philosophy of community-oriented policing (Burch and Kane, 1999, p. 1). Although the SafeFutures sites are responsible for implementing all components of the Model, at this point in the demonstration phase, none has fully done so. This section highlights selected features of sites' innovative approaches to various aspects of the Model.

OJJDP's Comprehensive Gang Model calls for the implementation of five strategies for dealing with gang-involved youth.

Gang prevention programs apparently have been subject to relatively little critical evaluation.

The first component of the Model calls for a process to mobilize communities to address such problems by creating a gang task force to develop a comprehensive community approach to implement recommended interventions. The Model requires involvement of 11 agencies, including a range of justice system agencies (such as law enforcement, courts, corrections, parole, probation, and prosecution), schools, grassroots organizations, the overall community, and youth employment and community-based youth agencies (Spergel et al., 1994). This approach seeks to replace the benefits that at-risk youth may associate with gang membership with more prosocial protective factors through prevention and intervention. Essentially, the model marries suppression activities with community outreach to provide services such as employability training and job placement to gang-involved youth. Funding for this component is available for a maximum of $400,000 per year to each SafeFutures site under Part D of the JJDP Act.

Gang prevention programs apparently have been subject to relatively little critical evaluation (Sherman et al., 1997). Both Spergel (1995) and Howell (1997) suggest that while no evaluation has revealed successful implementation of a gang prevention strategy, some promising strategies do exist. Thompson and Jason (1988) found that gang prevention classes with some afterschool options led to very low rates of later gang participation, although the study was greatly weakened by high attrition. Woodson (1981) looked at a program creating gang "sanctuaries and summits" and found declining murder rates as a result. However, this study was seriously compromised by other efforts undertaken in the city at the same time.

More attention has been focused on evaluating gang intervention programs, although many of these efforts were not methodologically rigorous (Sherman et al., 1997). Three programs (Miller, 1962; Gold and Mattick, 1974; Torres, 1981) found no significant decline in delinquent and criminal behavior. Klein (1968) and Spergel (1986, 1995) found that some types of programs, specifically crisis intervention, conflict mediation, job and school referrals, and direct interventions to reduce gang cohesion, resulted in less serious violent crime by gang members. Programs that use mediation or negotiation involving broader segments of the community—including probation officers and civilians in addition to police and social workers—to reduce risk factors appear to be more successful (Sherman et al., 1997). Also, it has been suggested that encouraging individual cities to tailor their programs to the local gang situation would lead to more positive outcomes (Klein, 1995).

The evaluation that was conducted of the first 3 years of the Little Village Gang Violence Reduction Project in Chicago, IL—a prototype of the OJJDP Comprehensive Gang Model—reports some promising results. Although the components of community mobilization and organizational change were not fully implemented, the program successfully employed a cohesive team to implement the following strategies: social intervention by community youth workers; provision of social opportunities in education, job training, and employment

through the development of local contacts and support networks; and targeted suppression of gang violence through project police and probation teams. Evaluation results indicated that this multimodal program was successful in reducing or relatively lowering the rate of gang crime, especially serious gang violence, for individual youth, targeted gangs, and the Little Village area (Spergel et al., 1999).

Under this component, sites not only provide some direct services to youth but also emulate the OJJDP Model by performing activities that do not entail direct service (e.g., establishing gang task forces, developing gang databases, undertaking community mobilization). This section focuses on provision of services to youth.[12]

Case management/referral was the most commonly provided activity across sites under the gang-free component, although in some programs it appears to have been fairly informal. Job skills training of some kind was provided by most sites, consistent with the Model. Some sites, such as St. Louis, provided employability training primarily as a free-standing program to which youth could be referred by various partner agencies. Others blended employability training into other programs, such as Contra Costa (described on page 44) and Seattle's Back to School Program, a joint effort between Central Youth and Family Services and the Department of Youth Services, which includes a school reentry component and a vocational component.

Several sites developed innovative programs under this component.

St. Louis, MO. St. Louis SafeFutures subcontracted with a peer outreach program (Healthstreet/Community Outreach for Risk Reduction [CORR]), initiated for drug-involved youth, to use a similar approach for outreach to gang-involved youth (or those at risk for gang involvement). Outreach workers, some of whom formerly were gang involved, seek to increase awareness of viable alternatives to gang involvement, including SafeFutures activities and services. Outreach workers (accompanied by a supervisor) are in the community most weekdays to contact youth, establish relationships, and make referrals (primarily for job training and counseling). Healthstreet support staff perform more formal case management, referral, and followup functions for youth who express interest in pursuing the options described. During year 3, some of the staff also began working with schools to obtain contact information on youth who had academic difficulties and attendance problems and/or had been suspended or turned away from school that day because of lateness. Outreach workers offer such youth referrals to SafeFutures services and also function as advocates and go-betweens to help these youth be readmitted (where applicable).

During year 3, the outreach efforts initiated under SafeFutures were combined with similar efforts associated with St. Louis's implementation of the Cease Fire model initiated in Boston. This citywide effort is led by the

Case management/ referral was the most commonly provided activity across sites under the gang-free component.

U.S. Attorney's office. It includes a gang outreach program administered by the Central Baptist Church, which works in neighborhoods outside the SafeFutures target area. SafeFutures has referred youth ineligible for its services to the Central Baptist program; these referrals represent a broadening of linkages. SafeFutures staff and Healthstreet/CORR staff participate in monthly meetings of Cease Fire's gang outreach subcommittee, and there have been joint training sessions (some supported by SafeFutures) for outreach workers from both organizations. SafeFutures staff and CORR workers teamed with Central Baptist staff and other Cease Fire partners to implement a "Bright Side Blitz" aimed at mobilizing the community and cleaning up the neighborhood in a priority "hotspot."

After a recent gang-related homicide, the Cease Fire partners fanned out within the affected neighborhood to try to prevent retaliatory violence.

After a recent gang-related homicide, the Cease Fire partners fanned out within the affected neighborhood to try to prevent retaliatory violence by diffusing the emotionally charged atmosphere. In addition to offering grief therapy and victim services, SafeFutures staff arranged safe housing for two youth who needed to be at a distance from the area.

Seattle, WA. In Seattle, the SafeFutures Youth Center (SFYC), which focuses on Asian/Pacific Islander youth, falls under both the delinquency prevention program and gang-free schools and communities components. SFYC provides case management for youth identified as needing such services, primarily gang members, juvenile offenders, or those with family dysfunction (particularly abuse). SFYC has a Vietnamese and a Cambodian case manager to serve youth of those ethnicities, and there are plans to add a Laotian case manager during year 4. Because juveniles on probation are mandated to remain in school, the program has focused on one-on-one tutoring and homework assistance to help youth meet this requirement. The center also provides afterschool activities, such as informal support/discussion groups, recreation, and "hanging out."

In year 3, SFYC added an academic reentry program for high school dropouts and those expelled from school. These youth receive high school credit in general studies classes geared to help them return to the school system. The program has a certified teacher and operates 5 days per week, year round. In effect, the program functions as an alternative school for these youth.

SFYC also provided parent education and support programs, including home visits and two parent support groups (one each for Cambodian/Laotian and Vietnamese parents). These programs offered monthly workshops on topics such as what the roles are of various systems (e.g., child protective services, police department, schools, DYS, etc.), what to do if one's child has contact with law enforcement, and how to deal with parent-child conflict. The last is a key issue because youth often acculturate rapidly and in ways that do not support ancestral values, while parents often wish to retain their traditional heritage.

The center moved from its initial site to a location closer to the High Point housing project where most of the youth served by the program live. Center staff are involved in community efforts, such as a "Tattoo Summit," a collaborative effort with the Police Department Gang Unit and the King County Department of Public Health to help youth who wish to terminate their gang involvement by establishing a program for removing their gang-related tattoos.

SFYC has obtained status as a nonprofit organization, which will facilitate its sustainability after SafeFutures funding is no longer available.

Imperial County, CA. Imperial County's Law Enforcement Team (LET), also known as the Intervention Team, falls under both the delinquency prevention program and gang-free schools and communities components. Originally, the team was located in the police department and included two juvenile probation officers, a deputy sheriff, and a Brawley police officer. Their work as a team represents a systems reform effort. During year 3, the team's office was relocated to a police substation in a Brawley public housing complex located in the heart of gang territory. Also assigned to the substation are two housing police officers and a Police Athletic League (PAL)/Community Oriented Policing (COPS) officer, further expanding justice system interaction, if not the team itself. Two LET members also have an office at the high school to make them more accessible to youth and families. In addition, during year 4, the team is being expanded to include outreach workers, a Family Resource Center coordinator, and other key service providers.

Since the early stages of the initiative, the team has participated in identification of and intervention with gang members, joint "gang sweeps" between probation and the Brawley Police Department (and, sometimes, other agencies), and joint home visits and patrol activities by the team's probation officer and sheriff's deputy. As the program matured, the team began implementing a more comprehensive gang intervention agenda to better address the OJJDP Model guidelines. This led to new areas of emphasis, such as collecting gang data (including mapping areas of high gang activity), targeting gang hotspots, and implementing a street outreach component.

LET members perform interventions with youth who have had contact with law enforcement or the courts or who have been identified as at-risk youth. These interventions may include one-on-one counseling with the youth and/or parent or joint counseling/intervention with youth and parent(s). Referrals to various services are made in conjunction with such counseling. In addition, team members make presentations on delinquency and gangs to schools and community groups. Team members also are involved in the probation office's skills training program (a family strengthening effort). Two serve as instructors, while other team members make presentations to these classes on topics such as drugs and gangs.

As the program matured, the team began implementing a more comprehensive gang intervention agenda.

Schools call on team members periodically to counsel students after a fight or other incident.

Some team members make periodic visits to elementary schools to informally counsel youth referred by school staff for problem behavior, most of whom are then referred to the FRC or other services. These visits were initiated during year 1, and this effort was expanded during year 2 into a program involving presentations by gang-involved probationers to elementary school youth identified as at risk of gang involvement. Schools also call on team members periodically to counsel students after a fight or other incident. One of the probation officers on the team also conducts "school drop-ins" to create a visible law enforcement presence at schools and informally monitors nonprobation youth identified by schools as gang involved. These kinds of interactions and information sharing between schools and justice system agencies also reflect systems reform.

One LET probation officer supervises a reduced caseload of 25 actively gang-involved youth. The lower caseload enables more intensive supervision. The other probation officer on the team supervises an informal probation caseload of 30 high-risk youth or first-time offenders, in addition to her LET activities. Youth on either caseload (and members of their families) have been referred for a variety of services supported by SafeFutures, including mental health or substance abuse counseling.

Contra Costa County, CA. Contra Costa established an aftercare program focused on gang-involved youth on probation (referred to as "core team" youth) during year 2. This program was implemented as a variation of an aftercare program that provides transitional aftercare for all youth leaving the youth ranch facility (discussed in the section "Serious, Violent, and Chronic Juvenile Offender Programs," page 49). Participation is restricted to males because the ranch is an all-male facility. SafeFutures funds a deputy probation officer (DPO) to provide intensive probation oversight for a caseload of approximately 50 youth, typically for 4 to 6 months after leaving the ranch. These youth are also assigned to a case manager through the Youth Services Bureau (YSB) or the International Institute. (The three YSB core team case managers are also assigned to middle or high schools as FSC case managers, as discussed in the section "Family Strengthening and Support Services," page 27.) Case managers refer youth to a variety of services, including employment programs.

Core team staff members meet every 2 weeks to review the status of each youth and discuss possible changes in services needed, whether probation should be revoked, etc. These meetings also enable staff to share information about gang activity in general, which may provide insight into issues or behaviors of a particular youth. In addition to the DPO and case managers, core team meetings are typically attended by the social worker and SafeFutures supervisor from YSB, staff from the youth ranch, and the directors of the agencies that provide employment programs for core team youth. The intention was that police representatives would attend these meetings, but their participation has been irregular, in part because their role with respect to this group does not seem clear to them.

A weekly group meeting of core team youth is held because these youth expressed interest in coming together as a community. The youth dubbed the group the "YSB Soldiers." The case managers and YSB staff typically participate in these meetings, which provide an opportunity for staff to learn about current issues affecting the youth and about gang-related issues in the community. Meetings may include presentations or videos (e.g., related to employment or youth violence). A meal is provided because staff perceive that "breaking bread" together helps to develop bonds among the youth, even though they are of different ethnicities and belong to different gangs. This reportedly has resulted in at least one case where one core team member protected another—who was associated with a rival gang—from being hurt in a gang incident.

Breaking bread together helps to develop bonds among the youth.

Two employment-related services receive SafeFutures support to serve core team youth. One of these, YouthBuild (YB), is an existing employment training program for youth ages 17 to 24 who do not have high school diplomas. YB provides extensive hands-on training and instruction in construction skills combined with academic training leading to a general equivalency or high school diploma. The program also instills values through leadership development and community service. SafeFutures funds are used to reserve several YB slots for SafeFutures youth and for stipends provided to SafeFutures youth. The second employment-related service is an "employment aftercare" program provided through Opportunity West (OW). An OW employment specialist develops jobs (i.e., identifies willing employers) and places core team youth in them. This program does not include formal job training, although the employment specialist provides informal counseling, work orientation, and résumé assistance and holds periodic workshops/meetings to address issues related to employment. The OW jobs, which are generally labor intensive (e.g., maintenance work in city buildings), are intended to develop basic work skills and an employment track record for the youth. SafeFutures funds are used to support the half-time employment counselor and to subsidize the salaries of youth during their "training period" (6 to 10 weeks, depending on the number of hours worked per day), after which OW helps youth find unsubsidized jobs.

Community-Based Day Treatment Programs—Bethesda Day Treatment Center Model

Community-based day treatment programs modeled after Pennsylvania's Bethesda Day Treatment Center are an optional component of the SafeFutures initiative. Such centers provide intensive supervision, service coordination, and counseling to youth and families (including home visits, parent or family

Each youth is assessed, is assigned a caseworker, and has a service and treatment plan developed to meet his or her needs.

counseling, and family intervention services). Individualized educational alternatives also may be developed for youth who have had difficulties (academic or social) in mainstream education settings. SafeFutures funding is available for up to $30,000 (under Part C of the JJDP Act) to permit the demonstration sites to receive training to develop such centers in their communities.

Founded in 1983, Bethesda Day Treatment focuses on pre- and postadjudicated youth who are referred to the program by juvenile justice agents. Male and female offenders are ages 10 to 17. Each youth is assessed, is assigned a caseworker, and has a service and treatment plan developed to meet his or her needs. The average stay is 6 months. The program includes individual therapy (counseling, supervision, and study skills development), group therapy (social interaction, group counseling, life and job skills training, and group activities), and family therapy (family and parent counseling, family intervention, and family training). The program also includes alternative schooling, short-term foster care, and drug and alcohol counseling. In general, Bethesda Day Treatment offers an alternative to residential placement or can serve as an aftercare component for youth returning from a residential placement (Howell, 1995).

At this time, there has been relatively little research on community-based residential treatment centers. A small-scale evaluation of the Bethesda Day Treatment model found that the recidivism rate among juveniles participating in the program was far below national and regional norms, at about 5 percent. Although this is promising, it should be noted that the scale of the survey was so small (N=20) that the generalizability of the findings is questionable (Howell, 1995).

None of the SafeFutures sites has adopted the Bethesda model itself, and some expressed concerns about its applicability for the target areas or population served in their community. Several sites explored the possibility of implementing day treatment programs modeled after Bethesda by sending representatives to visit the Bethesda Center or other day treatment programs. Some sites may implement day treatment in the later stages of SafeFutures, although not necessarily following the Bethesda model, and some introduced day treatment as part of the SVCJO component (discussed below).

Under SafeFutures, day treatment is seen as part of a community's continuum of care and can be used as (1) an alternative to placement in detention facilities, (2) a treatment option prior to adjudication, or (3) an aftercare component for youth leaving institutional care. Such day treatment would include intensive supervision, service coordination, and counseling for youth and families (including home visits, parent or family counseling, and family intervention services). Other expected program elements are individual, group, and family therapy and drug and alcohol counseling. Individualized educational alternatives or alternative schooling also may be developed for youth who have had difficulties (academic or social) in mainstream educational settings. Some sites, including Boston and Contra Costa County, are implementing day treatment as part of their

continuum of care (discussed in the section "Serious, Violent, and Chronic Juvenile Offender Programs," page 49).

Continuum-of-Care Services for At-Risk and Delinquent Girls

As many as 10 percent of young females are at extremely high risk for serious criminal activity.

The continuum-of-care services for at-risk and delinquent girls component focuses on providing comprehensive gender-specific prevention, intervention, and treatment services to young women, along with case management and followup. Dryfoos (1990) notes that girls with low basic academic skills are five to seven times more likely to become teen mothers. Acoca and Austin (1996) found that about three-quarters of female offenders were exposed to violence as children. Other risk factors include association with an antisocial peer group (Hugo and Rutherford, 1992), dropping out of school (Snyder and Sickmund, 1995), substance abuse (Bergsmann, 1994; Dryfoos, 1990), and sexual abuse (Acoca and Austin, 1996).

Numerous studies suggest that as many as 10 percent of young females are at extremely high risk for serious criminal activity (Dryfoos, 1990; Reiss and Roth, 1993; Wilson and Howell, 1993). Between 1983 and 1993, the number of females involved in the juvenile justice system grew disproportionately compared with males, including faster increases in the number of person and delinquency offenses (Girls Incorporated, 1996). By 1994, girls constituted one-quarter of all juvenile arrests (Poe-Yamagata and Butts, 1996). Female juvenile offenders exhibit many of the same risk factors common to delinquent males, including physical or emotional abuse, low economic status, and poor parenting (Bergsmann, 1988; Crawford, 1988; Sarri, 1988, in Bergsmann, 1989), but tend to receive fewer services, including fewer preventive services (U.S. General Accounting Office, 1995). Burt, Resnick, and Matheson (1992) report that early identification and treatment, long-term program commitment, individualized attention, skill enhancement, life options, vocational orientation, and greater community involvement can increase girls' protective factors.

This component is intended to provide services that meet the unique emotional and developmental needs of young women. A maximum of $120,000 per year is available to each SafeFutures site under Part C of the JJDP Act. The anticipated gender-specific programming may include health education (e.g., an introduction to female anatomy and self-care, basics on appropriate prenatal care, and information about safe sex), health services, parenting skills, or childcare services for girls who are parents. It also may include activities supporting basic education, job training, life management skills, and personal growth focused on developing a more positive self-image and greater sense of responsibility.

As noted previously, funds for girls' programming were sometimes combined with funds from other components. Contra Costa County and Seattle, for example, combined funds from the juvenile mentoring program and the services

Seattle's Cambodian Girls Group is an example of one of the more comprehensive gender-specific programs.

for at-risk and delinquent girls components to support mentoring programs targeted to girls, and one of Seattle's mental health programs (Sibling Support, discussed previously) also targets this group. It should be kept in mind that the programs specifically identified as serving at-risk girls were not the only sources of gender-specific programming. The demonstration sites incorporated gender-specific programming in other components (such as afterschool programs) to varying degrees.

Seattle's Cambodian Girls Group (CGG) is an example of one of the more comprehensive gender-specific programs. It is also an example of cultural competency in programming.

> **Seattle, WA.** The Cambodian Girls Group (renamed Help Each Other Reach the Sky in year 3) provides intensive case management, mental health services, job skills training, employment and career exploration opportunities, tutoring, and counseling to teenage Cambodian girls. Girls served by CGG tend to have family members or friends who are involved with gangs, with others who are gang involved, or with the justice system. The girls come from immigrant/refugee families with high levels of conflict, and parents may be in treatment for posttraumatic stress disorder or depression.
>
> CGG includes participation in age-appropriate support groups, mandatory tutoring (3 days per week), employment (5–6 hours per week) at various organizations that provide job skills and compensation, and parental involvement in family therapy/parenting classes (discussed in the section "Family Strengthening and Support Services," page 27). Family therapy sessions bring parents and daughters together for a limited number of sessions to discuss issues relevant to both parties. All girls are required to participate in support groups, while one-on-one counseling is provided on an as-needed basis. Girls must meet work/tutoring/therapy attendance requirements to receive full stipends for participation in the program.

Boston finalized its girls' program model in the latter part of year 2, when it subcontracted with an existing agency that provides a range of gender-specific services.

> **Boston, MA.** ReVision House provides transitional housing for young mothers and their children for up to 2 years and a shelter serving women for up to 6 months. Residents are required to participate in job training or education activities and parenting workshops (which also address health and hygiene). ReVision House promotes involvement in urban farming, which is believed to facilitate access to agricultural, environmental, or horticultural careers. Staff provide training to promote self-sufficiency and help residents find housing.
>
> SafeFutures funding supports stipends for three resident interns (young mothers in their late teens). Interns work 20 hours per week and spend

their remaining time involved in activities offered or encouraged by ReVision House, including chores, budgeting workshops, and appointments to seek housing (the primary goal for women in the program). Intern efforts at ReVision include working in the garden and fish farm, helping with the farmer's market stand, and promotional activities. Interns also help coordinate workshops for other residents on a wide range of topics.

The interns also work with at-risk girls (ages 14–18) from several SafeFutures partner organizations (e.g., Boys & Girls Club, Franklin Field, Perkins Community Center). Assignments have included providing training for a "double-dutch" jump rope competition and providing tours and workshops about fish farming and herb cultivation. Some girls in the partner agency programs also receive peer leadership training at ReVision that enables them to make presentations or perform other functions as designated by the partner agencies. For example, Franklin Field peer leaders work with younger girls, and those at the Boys & Girls Club assist with afterschool activities there. Peer leaders also spend time at ReVision, helping with garden work and the weekly farm stand.

Serious, Violent, and Chronic Juvenile Offender Programs

The serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offender (SVCJO) component involves the development of a system of graduated sanctions of increasingly intensive treatment and rehabilitation services, including immediate interventions, intermediate sanctions, and secure confinement. Programs such as restitution, community service, and victim mediation are to be included among the range of sanctions adopted. Development of an aftercare program to assist juveniles leaving residential facilities in their reentry to the community also may be part of this component. The approach anticipates that youth will be assigned to appropriate levels of intervention or sanctions based on the use of risk and needs assessment tools developed by the community. Secure confinement is expected to be reserved for the most serious, violent, or chronic offenders. For those juveniles who are placed in residential facilities, aftercare programs are envisioned to facilitate positive reentry to the community. Funding for this component is provided for a maximum of $100,000 per year to each SafeFutures site under Part C of the JJDP Act.

Secure confinement is expected to be reserved for the most serious, violent, or chronic offenders.

As noted earlier, approaches using graduated sanctions, although not fully implemented, have generally been shown to be associated with positive outcomes. A study of the Massachusetts system of community-based programs found that the "regions that most adequately implemented the reform measures with a diversity of programs did produce decreases in recidivism over time" (Coates, Miller, and Ohlin, 1978, p. 136). A second study of this program found that it had comparatively lower recidivism rates than other jurisdictions (Krisberg, Austin, and Steele,

Several specific aspects of the graduated sanctions model have been shown to be associated with positive outcomes.

1989). A similar program in Utah was also found to have a "suppression effect" that reduced the frequency and severity of delinquent offending (Krisberg et al., 1988). However, it should be noted that not all programs of this type demonstrated positive outcomes (Howell, 1995).

Several specific aspects of the graduated sanctions model have been shown to be associated with positive outcomes. The six most commonly cited are (1) continuous case management; (2) emphasis on reintegration and reentry services, including reducing the influence of negative role models and increasing prosocial bonding; (3) opportunities for youth achievement, emphasizing improved self-image; (4) clear and consistent consequences for offending; (5) educational and vocational training; and (6) individual, group, and family therapy (Altschuler and Armstrong, 1984; Greenwood and Zimring, 1985).

Consistent with the focus of this component, various justice system agencies were involved in the provision of virtually all SVCJO services. Two existing community service/restitution programs were expanded under this component—Payback in St. Louis and the DYS Work Crew in Seattle. Several sites blended funds from SVCJO and other components to support particular programs, such as Contra Costa's Summit Center (discussed in the section "Mental Health Services for At-Risk and Adjudicated Youth," page 32). Some graduated sanctions programs, such as Imperial County's Peer Court and Fort Belknap's Tribal Ranch program, were partly funded through the delinquency prevention component because they target first-time offenders, although they also address the SVCJO graduated sanctions objective.

The SVCJO component also may involve developing risk and needs assessment instruments for use in referring youth to appropriate graduated sanctions components. Most sites appear to lack formal tools along these lines, although some have made steps in this direction. For example, Contra Costa's Probation Department has been working on developing and testing such an instrument, and SafeFutures has been assisting in this effort. King County Department of Youth Services also is developing a risk assessment instrument to drive supervision plans.

Two sites, Imperial County and St. Louis, implemented reduced caseloads for a limited number of probation officers under this component. Reduced caseloads enable closer supervision of youth, who are generally assigned to such caseloads because they are, or are deemed likely to become, SVCJO's unless concentrated intervention is provided. Smaller caseloads enable probation officers to provide more intensive services than are usually feasible under typical caseload scenarios. This includes more case management/counseling and referral, more family contact (which may also include referrals to services for parents or other family members), and more followup to ensure that services were received. Reduced caseloads are considered an element of graduated sanctioning because they permit more intensive supervision of youthful offenders than is possible under routine circumstances.

Imperial County implemented intensive community supervision specifically targeted to gang members, under the oversight of one of the probation officers assigned to the Law Enforcement Team (discussed in the section "Comprehensive Communitywide Approaches to Gang-Free Schools and Communities," page 39). St. Louis implemented reduced caseload programs under two justice agencies.

St. Louis, MO, Family Court. Two Deputy Juvenile Officers (DJO's) in the Juvenile Division of Family Court are funded through SafeFutures to provide intensive supervision and case management for youth who have been adjudicated delinquent, live in the target area, are gang affiliated, and have three or more prior offenses. The DJO's have caseloads of approximately 20 youth each (15 formally placed on supervision and 5 informally—and voluntarily—under supervision without court processing). SafeFutures youth reportedly receive a greater range of services (e.g., employability training, mentors) through referrals to SafeFutures partner agencies and faster access to services than youth on regular supervision. SafeFutures DJO's have a minimum of one contact per week with youth on their caseload but usually see them more frequently (as often as two to three times per day). DJO's visit schools weekly to check attendance and meet with school social workers or counselors. They also follow up with parents.

SafeFutures enabled establishment of an intermediate level of supervision in what had been a two-tier system (in effect, a systems change). Formerly, the two tiers were regular supervision (with caseloads of 25–30 youth) and intensive supervision (with caseloads of 15 youth). The new tier is for youth who have committed more serious crimes than first-tier youth but not as serious as third-tier youth (the latter have committed repeated felony offenses, more of them and more serious in nature than SafeFutures-level youth). Probation administrators noted that it would be desirable to have this second tier available for the entire city, not just youth in the SafeFutures target area.

St. Louis, MO, Department of Youth Services. St. Louis SafeFutures also provides support to enable two Department of Youth Services (DYS) service coordinators (case managers) to have reduced caseloads of 20 or fewer adjudicated youth living in the SafeFutures target area. The normal DYS caseload consists of 25–30 cases. Youth referred to DYS reportedly constitute the more serious, violent, or chronic offenders; those assigned to service coordinators typically are returning from secure or intermediate care facilities (aftercare, in effect), although some are under "direct community care" (e.g., assigned to day treatment or other community-based services).

The role of DYS service coordinators is similar to that of the DJO's. They meet with caseload youth a minimum of once per week (frequency and

SafeFutures enabled establishment of an intermediate level of supervision in what had been a two-tier system (in effect, a systems change).

The juvenile probation officer provides supervision and case management functions typical of probation officers.

length of contact vary according to the needs of the client). Service coordinators seek to involve families in services as much as possible and may refer family members to services. Weekly visits are made to schools to obtain information on attendance and performance and discuss the youth's behavior with school staff (e.g., counselors) or school police officers. Meetings with parents usually are followups to school contacts. Coordinators may refer youth to SafeFutures services that are unavailable to youth under DYS supervision or to DYS-coordinated services, such as outpatient or residential drug treatment programs.

In contrast to the sites that revised their supervision practices under SafeFutures, Fort Belknap lacked a juvenile justice system (other than the Children's Court judge). Under SafeFutures, components of an integrated juvenile justice system have been implemented, representing a significant systems change. During year 3, the Tribal Code was revised to include the court positions and functions developed through SafeFutures; this revision enhances the sustainability of this effort.

Fort Belknap, MT. SafeFutures funds support three staff assigned to the juvenile court: a juvenile probation officer, presenting officer, and family court counselor. The three work together to address common issues and service needs, work fairly closely with SafeFutures staff (a memorandum of understanding was developed to enable information sharing), and refer youth to SafeFutures for services. They also developed cooperative working relationships with off-reservation agencies that commonly serve court-involved youth, such as the county social service agency and the juvenile probation department for the region (which supervises youth on probation for offenses committed off the reservation). Such linkages also represent systems change.

The juvenile probation officer (JPO) provides supervision and case management functions typical of probation officers. The JPO presides over informal hearings held to address minor offenses such as curfew violation or possession of alcohol. The presenting officer performs preliminary review and investigation of youth referred to the court, presenting the case to the judge with recommendations and making referrals to the family court or family services counselor. The family court counselor is assigned to the court that addresses neglect, abuse, and domestic violence. The counselor provides case management and counseling for parents and youth. The counselor also initiated, and has served as the facilitator for, a women's support group.

Court staff introduced several new graduated sanctions options including house arrest, restitution, fines, and community service, primarily at the Tribal Ranch (discussed in the section "Delinquency Prevention Programs," page 36). Court staff developed arrangements for temporary placement of youth to give them time to find an appropriate placement (e.g., the detention facility at

Rocky Boy Reservation, foster homes, or therapeutic foster homes). They also have identified or developed a number of service options not previously available to court-involved youth, often on an ad hoc basis. For example, because of concerns about confidentiality of services on the reservation, sexual abuse cases are referred to a licensed clinical social worker off the reservation.

Two sites, Boston and Contra Costa County, developed day treatment programs. Contra Costa's Probation Department plans to open a day treatment/transition program in calendar year 2000. It will serve up to 20 youth released from the youth ranch 2 to 3 weeks early to enter this program. It will include education, community service, vocational training, and job search training. This program is expected to be supported by county funds, but it is viewed as part of the continuum of sanctions and services that SafeFutures has helped develop in Contra Costa.

Two sites, Boston and Contra Costa County, developed day treatment programs.

Boston, MA. Boston's day reporting center, implemented in spring 1999, targets youth returning to the community from locked State DYS facilities and includes four levels of supervision. Programming at the center includes a transitional education program, therapeutic groups (for example, for substance abuse and anger management), and recreational activities. A mentoring program is planned for youth phasing out of intensive services/supervision. Youth are monitored through home visits, meetings at school, and daily contact at the center.

This program represents a systems reform effort in that it involves a contract between the State's DYS and a community-based organization, Roxbury Youthworks (RYW). The latter has a history of working with court-involved youth, including managing detention diversion programs and clinics. DYS staff provide case management, tracking, and enforcement, while RYW staff provide programmatic aspects, such as workshops, scheduling, outreach, and tracking/monitoring for levels 3 and 4 youth (those needing less intensive supervision). SafeFutures and DYS provide funding for the program.

Contra Costa developed an aftercare program under the SVCJO component, which also is viewed as a systems reform.

Contra Costa County, CA. Contra Costa's Youth After Care Program (YACP) was developed through the support of SafeFutures funds, which enabled the hiring of a second probation officer for the Orrin Allen Youth Rehabilitation Facility (OAYRF), a residential youth ranch operated by the probation office for adjudicated boys (typically 14 to 18 years old). Having two probation officers (PO's) enables each to be assigned to assist youth in their transition back to the community after release, in addition to supervising youth at the ranch. A third officer was added to the ranch in year 3 (because of expansion of the ranch). The addition of this officer, who also provides aftercare supervision and in-ranch supervision, reflects

A key feature of the aftercare program is ensuring that youth return to school after release from the ranch.

commitment to the program. The funding of this position through "hard" county funds is an indication of the future sustainability of the program. Approximately 35 youth are on each aftercare caseload at a time, in addition to those in the ranch who are also on caseload.

Upon entry to the OAYRF, youth are assigned to a probation officer who supervises their stay at the ranch and, as a result of this program, provides aftercare supervision for 45 days postrelease. This arrangement enables the youth and PO to develop relationships before release (the PO also works with parents at that stage) and helps familiarize the PO with the youth's experiences while at the ranch. The aftercare component includes more frequent contact than is the case with regular community supervision. It also ensures that youth have contact with a PO immediately after release, whereas prior to the YACP, youth often spent some period of time before having any contact with their assigned PO. Aftercare supervision generally includes visiting the youth at school two to three times weekly, meeting with the youth in the PO's office in the community, and contacting parents regularly (generally by telephone). In combination, these forms of contact enable identification of problems earlier than would be the case otherwise. Probation officers also refer youth to services, as needed.

A key feature of the aftercare program is ensuring that youth return to school after release from the ranch. To facilitate this, the probation department established a "community school" for the YACP in cooperation with the County Board of Education. The County Board provides a teacher and an aide for a "transition classroom" serving up to 25 youth. The approach of the community school is more flexible than that of regular schools and uses an individualized learning approach to address the different ability levels of youth in the classroom.

After 45 days in the community, the youth has a court date to assess his behavior and attitude and is transferred to a different PO for the remainder of his probation. (If the youth is having problems, the 45-day aftercare period can be extended or the judge can revoke parole and return him to the ranch.) Because of the aftercare, the youth and parents are expected to be more adjusted to the youth being back in the community when the new PO begins working with them than would be the case otherwise.

Lessons Learned

A variety of lessons can be drawn from the early implementation of the SafeFutures initiative. Some lessons are common to any complex demonstration; others are encountered less frequently and may result from SafeFutures' emphasis on collaboration combined with implementation of specific component programming. The findings identified here are grouped into three categories: lessons related to

funded demonstration projects, lessons related to community-based collaboratives, and lessons related to service provision. Classifying a given point is not always easy because some findings undoubtedly apply to more than one category.

Funded Demonstration Programs

- An iterative, flexible approach is needed on the part of funders and demonstration sites to implement complex, multifaceted initiatives. SafeFutures uses cross-site cluster conferences for this purpose, in addition to the ongoing training and technical assistance on key program elements.

  Cross-site conferences have facilitated an ongoing dialog that has clarified and shaped the viewpoints of both local administrators/program staff and Federal agency representatives regarding how SafeFutures should be implemented with respect to systems reforms and specific programmatic components. Cross-site conferences also provide opportunities for sites to exchange information and to learn from each other's experiences—facilitating cross-fertilization of successful or innovative programs or techniques employed to address challenges or issues. Electronic communication also can serve this purpose.

  OJJDP modified some policies in response to difficulties encountered by sites. For example, in year 3, OJJDP modified its expectations related to mentoring programs to allow sites flexibility regarding the costs of making and supporting each "match." OJJDP originally required sites to meet the cost estimate of $1,000 per match (which was based on a study of costs associated with Big Brothers Big Sisters mentoring programs). After several sites reported difficulty matching this cost, OJJDP reviewed the study and costs associated with other mentoring programs. OJJDP determined that this amount might not be an appropriate "benchmark" for the kinds of mentoring programs operated by SafeFutures sites (e.g., focusing on high-risk youth or those already in the juvenile justice system) and that the requirement could be relaxed where sites could justify their inability to meet it.

- Communities need access to ongoing training and technical assistance to help implement components with highly structured requirements—such as mentoring or the gang-free schools and communities component with its required implementation of the Spergel model of gang intervention—and to adapt generic models to the local context. Assistance also is needed to reconcile differing interpretations by local and Federal actors with respect to the theoretical principles underlying SafeFutures and their practical use (e.g., what constitutes adequate procedures to accomplish community risk and resource assessments). Training and technical assistance resources also have been deployed to assist sites with implementation of evolving concepts and approaches.

  Flexibility in providing additional training and technical assistance regarding areas with which sites are experiencing difficulty also is desirable. For

Cross-site conferences also provide opportunities for sites to exchange information and to learn from each other's experiences.

Demonstration sites need flexibility to exercise cultural sensitivity and competence in program implementation.

example, OJJDP enabled sites to obtain additional technical assistance regarding systems change and the Spergel model, aspects of SafeFutures that were perceived as particularly challenging. Further, to facilitate collaborative, multidimensional initiatives such as SafeFutures, training and technical assistance supported by OJJDP has gone beyond traditional "categorical" approaches focused on a single program to address topics such as systems improvement and comprehensive strategic planning.

Continuity of technical assistance providers is important—particularly with those the community views as a "good fit" for them and with whom the community has established a satisfactory working relationship.

- Small service providers generally need more and different types of technical assistance and training than large, well-established organizations. Small, community-based organizations are often less familiar with some aspects of program implementation such as accountability, recordkeeping and record reporting, program evaluation, and other requirements commonly associated with demonstration programs. Staff of such organizations often are particularly concerned about recordkeeping and tracking requirements associated with monitoring clients to assess the outcomes of a demonstration program. This is due partly to concerns about maintaining the confidentiality of sensitive information. In addition, service delivery staff are primarily focused on working with youth/families and may believe that recordkeeping and monitoring take time away from their service provision role. Local program administrators frequently need to spend more time and effort with such organizations to ensure that they understand and are able to comply with various requirements of an initiative.

- Demonstration sites need flexibility to exercise cultural sensitivity and competence in program implementation. Although several programs in each SafeFutures community were specifically tailored to the cultural context of a targeted population, staff and service providers encountered difficulties adapting some components, such as mentoring, to ensure their relevance to the cultural context. Two sites experienced problems because the concept of one-to-one mentoring is not part of the culture of the respective target populations in those sites.

- Communities and program staff appear to be reluctant to impose eligibility criteria to ensure that they serve youth at highest risk or in greatest need. Many staff seem to regard all youth residing in target areas as being at risk, without seeing a need to make efforts to identify those at greater risk. Some programs rely heavily on self-referral or parental referral for client recruitment. This is logical from the perspective of ensuring that clients are willing to participate in program activities, but it may result in a failure to serve youth at highest risk because such individuals might be less likely to self-select for participation. By the end of year 3, several sites began using tools and processes to identify and focus on higher risk youth.

Communities have varied in the type and number of youth on whom their initiatives, or specific program components, focus. Some sites have chosen to spread resources around to reach as many youth in the community as possible, while others have concentrated resources to provide more intensive services to a smaller number of higher risk youth. The former approach is more commonly associated with prevention programs, while the latter is more common to intervention programming.

- Replication of programs that worked in other communities (or under different circumstances within the local community) does not guarantee similarly positive results in a new setting. It may be difficult to isolate and completely duplicate the features specifically responsible for success. The original program's success may have been due to charismatic leadership that is not easily transplanted. Other program factors also may not translate well in a new environment, and adapting a program may dissipate and undermine its effectiveness.

- It is desirable to address program sustainability well in advance of anticipated termination of Federal support. Some SafeFutures programs—such as Volunteers in Probation (mentoring) in Contra Costa County—took steps to establish selected programs as nonprofit entities. This enables these programs to begin fundraising and building a base of support before SafeFutures Federal funding ends.

  Communities often seek to sustain a demonstration program by applying for other grant funds for its continuation. This approach may seem more expedient and feasible than securing "hard money" from budgets of local governments or service providers. However, it often results in modifying key features of an existing program to make it fit the objectives of the next funder. It also may result in piecemeal sustainability, in which some elements of the initiative's continuum of services receive ongoing support, while others fade away.

Community-Based Collaboratives

- Implicit in the SafeFutures approach is an emphasis on bringing about more comprehensive and more holistic treatment of youth and families. The road to systems reform can be seen as a continuum with gradations and permutations. Bringing together actors from different institutional contexts who logically need to interact, but have not previously done so, can be viewed as an early indication of systems reform. At the other end of the continuum is wholesale systems change, including changes in policies and practices of institutions brought about collaboratively/jointly to accomplish mutually agreed-upon reforms. Systems change can also occur within a single institution, not only across several institutions. Some reform efforts might be implemented in a single location or may be introduced on a limited scale with the intent of expanding them systemwide if they appear successful.

Replication of programs that worked in other communities does not guarantee similarly positive results in a new setting.

Successful collaborations need individuals in positions of authority to exert their leadership to secure resources and support.

The SafeFutures sites provide evidence of systems reform at various stages along the continuum.

- It takes a considerable amount of time for communities to develop viable collaborations. These are complex mechanisms that involve organizations with different institutional climates and levels of autonomy, flexibility, and power; individuals with differing levels of experience and expertise; and diverse cultural contexts that give rise to different ways of defining issues and solutions. Organizations need to develop the trust necessary to agree on how to work together and to decide what to do. Once established, collaborative relationships need to be nurtured and maintained over time. Consequently, collaboration is not easy and takes much time and effort. Organizations must work to overcome histories that include turf issues, longstanding isolation, dissension and mistrust among key parties, and real shortages of resources.
- In collaborative ventures, the differing perspectives of staff from different systems need to be recognized and respected if partnerships are to succeed. For example, staff from juvenile justice system agencies and social service agencies may work together to deliver a particular service or program, as in Contra Costa County's Summit Center. In doing so, they bring different perspectives on the appropriate way to address particular types of youth behavior, which may lead to conflict among staff. Partners need to "learn each other's language" and develop an understanding of the values and norms of their respective fields in order to work as a team. Cross-training helps promote team development and extends staff abilities to deliver holistic services.
- Successful collaborations need individuals in positions of authority to exert their leadership to secure resources and support. Given the complexity and cross-cutting nature of comprehensive community initiatives, higher level forces—often external to the collaboration or even the local community (e.g., State-level officials)—can exert positive or negative influence on an initiative. High-level decisionmakers in the public arena and key local or regional private-sector actors should be informed about the critical nature of an initiative, to gain their support at the outset. (For funded demonstrations, it may be useful for the funders to do this.) Such individuals would not be expected to be active members of the local collaborative (in the sense of hands-on involvement in committees or direct service delivery) but might be asked to use their clout in support of the initiative and to mitigate obstacles that threaten to undermine the achievement of key objectives.
- Key community leaders face multiple demands for participation in various collaborative and strategic planning efforts. Many initiatives—of Federal or local origin—request (or require) collaboration and/or strategic planning. Some communities have multiple initiatives of this type in operation at the same time. As a result, the same key leaders are called upon to participate in multiple periodic planning, needs assessment, or similar events for the

various initiatives. Because of the multiple demands on their time, it becomes more difficult for staff of a particular initiative to secure participation of these key leaders. Increasingly, as funders mandate comprehensive interagency strategies, local communities will need to develop mechanisms to "collaborate the collaboratives."

- Turnover among elected officials and administrators of key partner agencies can have a negative impact on collaborative efforts. The presence of new leaders may introduce different visions and strategies that dramatically diverge from those previously endorsed.

  Turnover in leadership positions may undercut the pursuit of a coherent policy, undermining the credibility of the effort and staff morale. At the least, in such cases, time must be spent rebuilding relationships with the new administration and reestablishing an understanding of the initiative and its objectives. Turnover in elected legislative and judicial positions often leads to subsequent changes in department heads and other influential appointed positions. As a result, program directors may have to cope with multiple cases of turnover in relatively short time periods. Turnover can be particularly disruptive if there are prolonged periods where there is an "acting" administrator, who may have little incentive to maintain ties to the collaborative or little power to bring to bear on its behalf. In one site, for example, the departure of the police chief created a leadership void in the gang task force, which became virtually inactive for a period of months when that position was held by acting chiefs.

- Implementation of services and activities in multiple components took longer than either the local communities or the funders originally anticipated. Sites that had well-developed preexisting strategies were able to implement program services or activities more quickly, to the extent that SafeFutures categoric requirements permitted the incorporation of the preexisting local plans. Some sites primarily provided services through subcontracts or other agreements with agencies that already operated similar programs (e.g., afterschool or mentoring programs). This usually facilitated relatively early implementation of programming, but the downside may be the continuation of "business as usual" rather than the careful consideration of whether reforms are necessary. In cases where staff had to be hired and new programs established, services to youth were invariably delayed by startup activities.

- The SafeFutures sites introduced a variety of accountability mechanisms over the course of the initiative, in part to ensure that multiple service providers were fulfilling their obligations. For example, St. Louis instituted a monthly reporting system for case-managed youth at the start of the initiative. This management information system (MIS) is used to record information on service needs and referrals. The MIS has been used to make decisions about retaining partner agencies and to encourage agencies to make more referrals. Boston created positions for contract monitors among its

Turnover among elected officials and administrators of key partner agencies can have a negative impact on collaborative efforts.

For most communities, implementing innovative programming had both beneficial and detrimental effects.

administrative staff to provide better oversight of subcontractors. SafeFutures administrators hold mandatory monthly grants management meetings with contractors to convey information about administrative and reporting requirements and other contracting issues. Sanctions are imposed when contractors are not in compliance with their contracts. In Seattle, the city government recently introduced outcome-based budgeting, which affects all city agencies and subcontractors, including those working with SafeFutures. As a result of this initiative, contractors are required to set quarterly outcome goals and face funding reductions if they fail to meet them.

- Programs operated in partnership with other agencies can be discontinued for reasons unrelated to the initiative—even in cases where the program is considered successful. In one site, an afterschool/family strengthening program that was being replicated because SafeFutures partners believed it was successfully reaching and retaining high-risk youth was discontinued because of a decision by the Board of Directors of the agency that operated the program. This decision was related to financial difficulties of that organization, not to the effectiveness of the program. In such cases, the local initiative may have little or no ability to influence the decision of the agency responsible for the program, unless it is able to provide full funding to enable continued operation.

Service Provision

- Communities are willing and able to implement programming that is innovative in the local area. To some extent, each of the demonstration sites engaged in risk taking by implementing at least some services or activities that no one had ever tried or that were new to their locale. For most communities, implementing innovative programming had both beneficial and detrimental effects. New approaches were enticing in that they offered the opportunity to fill a previously unmet need or gap in service; however, there was no formulaic approach to success that could be followed. In most cases, service providers experienced learning curves and had to find creative ways to redress unanticipated difficulties, many of which were logistical. For instance, in one site, staff learned that they could not combine programming for at-risk girls and girls who were juvenile offenders since the latter intimidated the former and undermined the purpose of the group.
- Staff turnover in leadership and other key positions can seriously hinder program implementation and stability. Several SafeFutures sites experienced turnover in the position of project director during the first 2 years of the initiative—and some sites had more than one turnover in the same position within the first 3 years. Turnover affects the continuity of program implementation and requires site staff to reestablish linkages and, in some cases, restart programs that lapsed during periods of staff change. Loss of institutional memory also occurs in such cases, especially if the program

does not have written guidance and other documentation detailing specific project operations to facilitate such transitions.

- Filling positions—especially positions involving specialized skills—can be a problem, particularly in rural areas that have a limited professional workforce. The relative isolation and low wages common to rural areas make it difficult to recruit individuals with relevant expertise to fill certain positions. Programs that arrange to provide training to make the existing workforce more qualified may then face the possibility of losing those staff after their enhanced skills make them more desirable to other agencies.

- Recruiting mentors and other volunteers is particularly challenging in low-income areas. Transportation and poverty issues also affect programs' abilities to attract and work with volunteers. In rural areas and large counties, the need to travel long distances works against attracting individuals to serve as mentors or work as volunteers. Distance also makes it difficult to meet with volunteers as a group, either to provide training or to hold periodic meetings to support volunteer efforts. Difficulties in recruiting and retaining mentors in rural settings also make each match more expensive. In low-income areas, it is apparently more difficult to find adults who have the ability or motivation to donate their time. Many of these adults work more than one job, are preoccupied with the need to find a job, and/or are struggling to raise their own families with limited resources. In addition, some adults have personal or legal histories that make it inadvisable to use them as mentors (or as volunteers in other roles).

  In some cases, new mentoring programs established for SafeFutures by small, community-based organizations had difficulty recruiting mentors because they were competing for volunteers with large, well-known mentoring programs (such as BBBS) with more resources and experience in recruiting. Corporations and other organizations welcome recruiting efforts by such entities, but are less willing to provide access to their staff to unfamiliar organizations.

  Recruiting mentors is also more challenging for programs that serve youth already involved in the juvenile justice system or youth who may be perceived as high risk by potential mentors.

- "Hidden" resource requirements can pose challenges to program implementation. Several programs encountered unanticipated costs associated with transportation and food (discussed separately below). One program designed to reenroll clients in school found that once they helped youth return to school, these students lacked appropriate clothing to attend classes. The program was unprepared to meet that need or youth's other needs related to school participation (e.g., activity cards, sports attire/gear, band equipment). At least one youth could not officially reregister in school until settling $180 in outstanding school library fines (the program helped negotiate a payment plan). Similarly, programs geared to youth employment unexpectedly found that clients

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Transportation and location are critical considerations in programs serving low-income and at-risk youth.

had no way to get to their jobs or lacked money for lunches (one program arranged for free lunch program deliveries).

- The ability to offer food is an important element of many programs that serve a low-income population. Providing food and opportunities for group dining can play a part in enhancing group bonding, modeling prosocial behavior (e.g., etiquette, respect for others), and meeting the service needs of low-income youth/families or those in unstable home environments. Many programs provided healthy snacks during afterschool activities, both to attract participation and in an effort to address the nutritional needs of youth (who did not always receive adequate nutrition at home). The PREPP program in St. Louis provided a hot meal each afternoon, to which parents also were welcome, as an incentive to youth and to encourage parental involvement. In Contra Costa County, the weekly meeting of gang-involved youth includes a shared meal, since staff perceive that "breaking bread" together helps youth involved in different gangs to bond with each other and with program staff. Serving food also is viewed as an important drawing card for programs intended to attract parents or the community in general. Demonstration sites experienced some confusion or concern about the use of Federal SafeFutures funds to pay for food in various contexts. Some programs drew on other resources to underwrite food costs, while a few sought donations for this purpose.

- Transportation and location are critical considerations in programs serving low-income and at-risk youth. Providing easy access to programs (particularly afterschool programs) was a challenge in some sites. Transportation problems were commonly related to the relative lack of public transportation in low-income areas, the absence of a family vehicle, or the lack of a family member who could drive the youth to a program. In the rural SafeFutures sites, these problems were compounded by long travel distances between various locations. Some programs addressed the problem by arranging for free bus/subway tokens; others bought or made arrangements to share vans.

  Distance and accessibility concerns were further heightened in some cases by concerns about the safety of the neighborhood in which a program is located or whether it is located in an area perceived as the turf of a particular gang. The latter issues were key concerns in selecting the location of the SafeFutures Youth Center in Seattle, for example. Some programs made an effort to locate programs in areas that were considered gang neutral or sought to define their sites as such.

  Conversely, selecting an appropriate site for a program may pose challenges due to the "at-risk" characteristics of the clientele. One site that initiated school-based services for youth and families found that elementary school administrators were not comfortable with the older adolescents these programs were intended to attract and the schools did not welcome their presence. The site ultimately closed two of the programs based in elementary schools.

- It is difficult to get families of at-risk youth to support services for their children or to participate in family-focused services. Despite the emphasis in OJJDP's Comprehensive Strategy for Serious, Violent, and Chronic Juvenile Offenders on families as the primary providers of care for children, few sites have been able to meaningfully involve parents in the programs or services designed to support their children. For the most part, at-risk youth and juvenile offenders were being served independently of their families. There appear to be several reasons for the difficulty in engaging parents. Some parents may feel intimidated by the institutional settings or staff. Others may be used to resolving personal issues within family/kinship networks or skeptical about risking privacy to accept assistance from outsiders. Further, there are parents who fear that program participation might reveal their own dysfunctional behaviors, such as substance abuse, gang involvement, criminal behavior, or poor parenting practices. The transience of some low-income families also works against establishing relationships with them. Similarly, the severity of family problems (e.g., substance abuse, imprisonment, death of parent or sibling) makes service provision more challenging. In some cases, parents are not truly supportive of changes that they perceive as turning the child away from the family or displacing the values or authority of the parents. Some parents undermine program efforts, for example, by canceling meetings between the mentor and their child, not letting the child participate in specific program activities, or failing to reinforce program-supported behaviors at home.

  Logistical challenges also affect programs' abilities to involve parents in services for themselves or in parent activities associated with youth programming. Limited access to transportation (public or private) in low-income areas (especially rural communities), work hours that may not conform to a "9 to 5" schedule, jobs that do not provide time off to participate in family activities, and absence of childcare to enable participation in activities are among the factors that make participation difficult for parents who wish to receive, or be involved in, services.

  Parents also may be reluctant to participate in classes or programs designed to improve parenting skills because they believe this indicates that they are not perceived as good parents. To overcome such feelings, some SafeFutures programs have made efforts to present such classes in ways that do not imply that participants lack parenting skills. In Boston, for example, case managers at health centers and public housing facilities reach out to parents with information on how the school and juvenile justice systems work, to engage parents who might resist activities labeled as parenting classes.

- The considerable stigma associated with mental health services affects providers' ability to obtain clients or to serve those in need of such assistance. Reluctance to participate in mental health services—on the part of youth or on the part of parents (who are reluctant to receive such services or allow their child to receive them)—is fairly common, particularly in low-income

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or minority communities. In some cases, parents have opted to have their child spend time in a juvenile detention facility rather than participate in residential mental health treatment since the former is viewed as a common (and therefore acceptable) occurrence in their community and usually involves a shorter stay than the latter. Some youth/parents may simply be resistant to mental health or substance abuse treatment and may require the additional leverage of a court order (for juvenile offenders).

- Programs need to be developmentally appropriate in terms of both substance and setting. Programs seemingly experienced more difficulty attracting and retaining older teens than they did middle or elementary school-age children. Many SafeFutures programs, particularly afterschool programs, experienced this problem. There are several possible reasons for difficulties attracting older teens.
  - They may be more deeply entrenched in peer groups that support higher risk activities.
  - Older teens appear to be reluctant to be associated with programs that are perceived as serving children and younger teens.
  - The types of activities commonly offered in afterschool programs, such as loosely organized sports, free play, and arts and crafts, may not appeal to older youth.
  - Older teens may have more options for their free time (e.g., afternoon sports practice in high schools).
  - Low-income youth's need (or desire) for afterschool jobs apparently mitigates against their participation in programs.

  Programs that focused exclusively on older youth, such as Seattle's SafeFutures Youth Center, did not appear to have as much difficulty attracting older teens as those that included a broader range of ages. Some programs, such as Imperial County's Boys & Girls Club, scheduled activities for older youth at different times than those for younger ones.

  Staff attempting to attract older youth often are hard pressed to identify programming that will hold the interest of older adolescents, many of whom are involved in gangs or the justice system and not all of whom are committed to engaging in a prosocial lifestyle. In working with such youth, staff often seek to engage them long enough to have a chance to shape their behavior. Staff are often reluctant to enforce rules or requirements that might cause youth to leave a program since participation itself is often seen as an initial indication of movement toward prosocial behavior.

- It is more difficult—and takes longer—to see results of program efforts with youth who are beyond the at-risk stage, such as those already deeply involved in the juvenile justice system, gangs, or substance abuse. Prevention programs often are able to see changes in client behavior and attitude in the short run. Intervention programs may see little or no real change after considerable lengths of time. The lack of measurable program outcomes in such cases makes it difficult for administrators and funders to determine whether intervention programs are working and should continue receiving support or whether modifications, or alternative programs, are needed.

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Endnotes

1. Each community is eligible to receive approximately $1.4 million per program year. A supplement of $25,000 was available during year 3 to implement a management information system to support client tracking.
2. Secondary analysis to date has included review of documents such as the SafeFutures solicitation and sites' original proposals to OJJDP, OJJDP guidance for subsequent years and sites' continuation applications, workplans and initial strategic plan documents, progress reports, and materials describing discrete project activities and services. In general, two to three multiday visits were conducted at each demonstration community during each of the first 3 years of the initiative. For each visit, two- or three-person research teams toured the targeted areas, interviewed program managers and other key actors (such as justice system stakeholders and SafeFutures service providers), observed project activities, and collected relevant local documents. After each site visit, evaluators reported the site visit agenda, together with highlights of the local program's status and issues. These findings were disseminated as detailed site-specific memos, intended to support the formative evaluation interests of OJJDP and the local collaboratives. Relevant information contained in those documents has been reworked for inclusion in this Summary.
3. Note that programs receiving funds provided under Title II, Part C of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (JJDP) Act of 1974, as amended (i.e., programs that address at-risk and delinquent girls, family strengthening, mental health, and serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offenders) permit some flexibility. Communities with sufficiently strong programs in place in any of these component areas could receive permission to use Part C funds (designated for a particular component) to supplement other SafeFutures components. All six sites initiated activities in most Part C components, however. Further, community-based day treatment modeled after Pennsylvania's Bethesda Day Treatment Center is an optional component that none of the sites adopted, although some have introduced other types of day treatment.

4. In addition to delivering services to a defined target population, SafeFutures sites are required to conduct planning and implement systems change throughout their jurisdiction.

5. Unless otherwise noted, the information contained in this section and the section covering community risk factors was extracted from applications submitted to OJJDP for first- and second-year funding of SafeFutures demonstrations. These documents were submitted in spring/summer 1995 and 1997.

6. Formerly the Department of Housing and Human Services.

7. This Summary is not intended to provide an exhaustive review of the literature. Taken together, the relevant studies often report mixed results and are frequently challenged as insufficiently rigorous to justify definitive conclusions. Despite these difficulties, Federal agencies and practitioners—whether part of demonstration programs or not—have tried to apply promising approaches identified by research to improve their own efforts. This information on research, therefore, is included to identify some of the studies that lend support to the various SafeFutures components.

8. On a cautionary note: although afterschool recreation programs can mitigate risk factors and increase protective factors, it is also possible that close proximity to other at-risk juveniles will increase risk factors due to contamination, such as has been shown in some gang interventions (Sherman et al., 1997). The literature addressing the relative merits of afterschool programs suggests that specific types of components are crucial to outcomes; regrettably, there is only limited knowledge of which components are most successful individually and in combination.

9. The Summit Center, planned prior to the SafeFutures initiative, was conceptualized as a locked mental health unit for serious, violent, and chronic offenders in Juvenile Hall. However, in order to receive MediCal funding, the Center operates as an unlocked facility adjacent to, but independent of, Juvenile Hall.

10. MHB distributes funds collected through a local property tax to agencies providing mental health and substance abuse services for adults.

11. Seattle provides mental health services under SSP and also as part of the Cambodian Girls Group, discussed in the section "Continuum-of-Care Services for At-Risk and Delinquent Girls," page 47.

12. Because efforts to produce gang-free schools and communities (GFSC) are closely linked conceptually to the delinquency prevention component and the serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offenders component, some sites used funds from more than one of these to support programs addressing goals bridging components. This section focuses on the gang-free schools and communities elements of such programs, where applicable.

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